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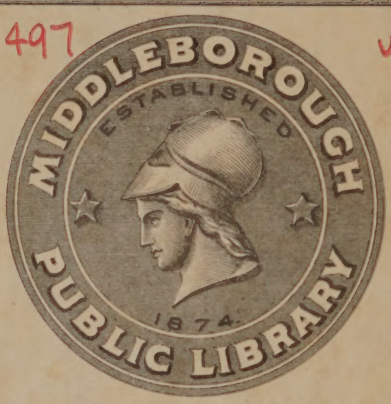

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COLLECTIONS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS

HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

FOR THE YEAR

M, DCC, XCV.

BOSTON:
PRINTED BY SAMUEL HALL,
1795.

REPRINTED BY JOHN H. EASTBURN,
1835.

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The Act *of* Incorporation, Laws, *and* Circular Letter *of the* Massachusetts Historical Society.

Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

In the year of our Lord, one thousand, seven hundred and ninety-four.

An Act to incorporate a Society, by the name of The Massachusetts Historical Society.

WHEREAS the collection and preservation of materials for a political and natural history of the United States, is a desirable object, and the institution of a Society for those purposes will be of public utility:

Be it therefore enacted, by the Senate and House of Representatives, in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same, That William Baylies, Esq. Jeremy Belknap, D. D. the Rev. Alden Bradford, Peleg Coffin, Esq. Manasseh Cutler, D. D. John Davis, Esq. Daniel Davis, Esq. Aaron Dexter, Doctor in Physic, the Rev. John Elliot, Nathaniel Freeman, Esq. the Rev. James Freeman, the Rev. Thadeus Mason Harris, Isaac Lothrop, Esq. George Richards Minot, Esq. the Rev. John Mellen, jun. Thomas Pemberton, William Dandridge Peck, the Rev. John Prince, Ezekiel Price, Esq. James Sullivan, Esq. David Sewall, Esq. Peter Thatcher, D. D. William Tudor, Esq. Samuel Turell, Dudley Atkins Tyng, Esq. James Winthrop, Esq. Thomas Wallcut, Redford Webster, and William Wetmore, Esq. who have associated for the purposes aforesaid, and have requested an Act of Incorporation; be, and hereby are formed into and constituted a Society and Body Politic and Corporate, by the name of the Massachusetts Historical Society; and that they, and their successors, and such other persons as shall be legally elected by them, shall be and continue a Body Politic and Corporate, by that name, for ever.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the members of said Society shall have power to elect a President, and all other necessary officers; and that the said Society shall have one common seal, and the same may break, change, and renew at pleasure; and that the same Society, by the name aforesaid, as a Body Politic and Corporate, may sue and be sued, prosecute and defend suits to final judgment and execution.

And be it further enacted, That the said Society shall have power to make orders and bye laws for governing its members and property, not repugnant to the laws of this Commonwealth; and may expel,

disfranchise and suspend any member, who, by his misconduct, shall be rendered unworthy.

And be it further enacted, That the said Society may, from time to time, establish rules for electing officers and members, and also times and places for holding meetings; and shall be capable to take and hold real or personal estate, by gift, grant, devise, or otherwise, and the same, or any part thereof, to alien and convey: *Provided*, That the annual income of any real estate, by said Society holden, shall never exceed the sum of five hundred pounds; and that the personal estate thereof, besides books, papers, and articles in the Museum of said Society shall never exceed the value of two thousand pounds.

And be it further enacted, That the members of said Society, shall never be more than sixty (except honorary members, residing without the limits of this Commonwealth) and that James Sullivan, Esq. be and he hereby is authorised and empowered to notify and warn the first meeting of said Society; and that the same Society, when met, shall agree upon a method for calling future meetings, and may have power to adjourn from time to time, as may be found necessary.

And be it further enacted, That either branch of the Legislature, shall, and may have free access to the Library and Museum of said Society.

This Act passed Feb. 19, 1794.

Laws *and* Regulations *of the* Massachusetts Historical Society.

Article 1. EACH member shall pay *eight dollars* at the time of his admission, and *two dollars* annually, to create a fund, for the benefit of the institution. And any member shall be exempted from the annual payment of two dollars, provided he shall at any time after six months from his admission, pay to the Treasurer, thirty-four dollars, in addition to what he had before paid.

Art. II. All elections shall be made by ballot. No member shall nominate more than one candidate at the same meeting; and all nominations shall be made, at a meeting, previous to that, at which the ballot is to be taken.

Art. III. There shall be four stated meetings of the Society in each year; namely, on the last Tuesdays of January, April, July, and October. And occasional meetings shall be convened, on due notification, by the President; or in case of his absence, by one of the Secretaries, on application of any two of the members.

Art. IV. There shall be annually chosen, at the meeting in April a President, a Recording and a Corresponding Secretary, a Treasurer, a Librarian, a Cabinet Keeper, and a Standing Committee of three. [*Since altered to* five.]

Art. V. At the request of any two members present, any motion shall be deferred to another meeting, for farther consideration, before it is finally determined, and shall then be taken up.

Art. VI. All accounts shall be kept in dollars and cents.

Art. VII. Five members present shall be a quorum for all purposes, excepting those of making alterations in, or additions to, the laws and regulations of this Society, and election of members.

Art. VIII. No member shall be chosen, unless there are nine members present at the election, and unless two thirds of the members present vote for his admission.

Art. IX. Members who are chosen in other States and Countries, shall not be required to make contribution with the members who are citizens of the Commonwealth.

Laws, *regulating the* Standing Committee.

Article I. The Standing Committee shall regulate all the common expenses of the Society, and make the necessary provision of such small articles as may be wanted, and shall have power to draw on the Treasurer to defray the expense.

Art. II. They shall aid the Librarian and Cabinet Keeper, when they shall require it, in the arrangement of the books, pamphlets, maps, and manuscripts, and in the disposition of curiosities and articles belonging to the cabinet, and shall especially attend to the preservation and binding of books and pamphlets.

Art. III. They shall frequently inspect the records, and inquire whether all the orders of the Society are carried into effect with precision and promptitude.

Art. IV. They shall inquire for, and endeavour to obtain, on the best terms, for the benefit of the Society, manuscripts, books, and articles of curiosity.

Art. V. They shall meet, in the week previous to each stated quarterly meeting of the Society, and arrange and prepare such business, as may be a subject for the Society's attention. The Recording Secretary shall notify the Standing Committee of their stated meetings.

Laws, *regulating the* Library *and* Museum.

Article I. All books which are presented to the library shall be accepted with thanks, and also every curiosity for the museum.

Art. II. American coins and curiosities shall be kept by themselves in the best part of the cabinet.

Art. III. At every quarterly meeting, a catalogue of the books, pamphlets, manuscripts, and maps, shall be produced by the Librarian, and a catalogue of the curiosities by the Cabinet Keeper: and every

member shall in person, if present, and in writing, if absent, give an account of the books and manuscripts, or whatever article belonging to the Society, he may have in his possession.

ART. IV. Once in every year, previous to the spring meeting, the standing committee shall inspect the library and museum, and report the state of every article at that meeting, and what books are particularly wanted.

ART. V. There shall be two keys to the Society's room, one of which shall be kept by the Librarian and the other by the Cabinet Keeper, to be by them delivered to no person except one of the members.

ART. VI. Each member shall give receipts for the books which he shall take out of the library, in a receipt-book to be provided for that purpose. He shall be under obligation to return each book within three months after receiving the same; and shall not have more than three books at a time, unless by special leave obtained by a vote of the Society. No manuscript shall be taken out of the library, but in the presence of the Librarian, a receipt and obligation being given to return it within the space of three months.

ART. VII. The sixth article shall not prevent the Committee, annually chosen to superintend the publications of the Society, from taking out of the library *as many* books and papers as they may want, they giving a receipt for the same, as provided in that article.

ART. VIII. If books or manuscripts be requested for public uses, or for the peculiar benefit of persons whom the Society is disposed to oblige, the application shall be made to the Librarian, through the medium of some member, who shall be responsible in a written obligation for the return of each article borrowed, within such time as shall be stipulated by the Librarian, not exceeding three months, and shall be accountable for all loss and damage.

ART. IX. Every book lost shall be replaced by the person who shall have lost the same, if it can be procured; and if not, another equally valuable shall be accepted to supply the vacancy.

ART. X. All pamphlets shall be bound, except duplicates; which shall be kept by themselves, and triplicates shall be exchanged.

ART. XI. All manuscripts shall be distinctly marked and numbered, and kept in cases of paper; which shall also be numbered, and the contents of each registered.

ART. XII. Every present received shall be recorded, and an account of it rendered, at the next meeting of the Society.

ART. XIII. A printed ticket shall be pasted on the inside of the cover of each book, signifying that it is the property of the Society, and also the name of the donor, if it be a present.

Circular Letter *of the* Massachusetts Historical Society.

Respectfully addressed to every Gentleman of Science in the Continent and Islands of America.

SIR,

The professed design of our institution is to *collect*, *preserve*, and *communicate* materials for a complete history of this country, and of all valuable efforts of the ingenuity and industry of its inhabitants. In pursuance of this design we have already amassed a large quantity of books, pamphlets and manuscripts; and we are still in search of more.

The Library and Museum of the Society are deposited in a new, spacious and convenient apartment of the *Tontine Crescent*, in *Franklin place*, Boston. To this apartment, *any person* may have access, by application to the Librarian, or to any one of the members.

But from many instances which have occurred during our own memory, we are satisfied, that depositories, however desirable, are exposed to such accidents, from the hand of time, from the power of the elements, and from the ravages of unprincipled or rapacious men, as to render them unsafe. The surest way of preserving historical records and materials is, not to lock them up; but to *multiply the copies*. The art of printing affords a mode of preservation, more effectual than Corinthian brass or Egyptian marble. Statues and pyramids, which have long survived the wreck of time, are unable to tell the names of their sculptors, or the date of their foundation.

Impressed with this idea, the Massachusetts Historical Society have determined, not only to *collect*; but to *diffuse* the various kinds of historical information which are within their reach. Though these materials may come in, at different times, and there may not be opportunity to digest them, in the best manner, previously to their publication; yet we will present them in such order as may be convenient and effectual. If we cannot erect an elegant *building*, we will plant a forest, into which every inquirer may enter at his pleasure, and find something adapted to his purpose.

We have therefore encouraged the publication of a monthly pamphlet; in which is given the result of our *inquiries* into the *natural*, *political*, and *ecclesiastical* history of this country. It is requested, that you would contribute to its value and importance, by attending to the annexed articles of inquiry; and we beg leave to depend on your obliging answers, when leisure and opportunity will permit.

We have also contemplated the forming of an extensive cabinet; comprehending the various natural productions of our continent, the adjacent islands, and the neighboring seas. To facilitate this purpose, we have annexed to this letter, the best directions we have been able

to obtain, for the collection and preservation, of all the proper subjects of natural history. Any specimens which it may be in your power to send will be gratefully received.

Your letters, free of expense, addressed to the subscriber, will be duly acknowledged; and noticed in the Society's publications; and you will have the satisfaction of contributing to the general stock of knowledge with which we hope to entertain the public.

In the name, and by order of the Society.

JEREMY BELKNAP,
Corresponding Secretary.

Boston, July 1, 1794.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

Articles on which the Society request information.

1. THE time when your own town or city was incorporated; its Indian name; when the settlement began; whether it was interrupted, and by what means; to what Colony or County it was first annexed; and if there have been any alterations, what they are, and when made.

2. The exploits, labours and sufferings of the inhabitants in war; particular accounts of devastations, deaths, captivities and redemptions.

3. Divisions of your town or city into parishes and precincts, or the erection of new towns within the former limits.

4. Time of gathering churches of every denomination; names of the several ministers; the times of their settlement, removal and death; and their age at the time of their death.

5. Biographical anecdotes of persons in your town, or within your knowledge, who have been remarkable for ingenuity, enterprise, literature, or any other valuable accomplishment; an account of their literary productions, and if possible, copies of them.

6. Topographical description of your town or county, and its vicinity; mountains, rivers, ponds, animals, vegetable productions; remarkable falls, caverns, minerals, stones, sands, clays, chalk, flints, pit-coal, pigments, medicinal and poisonous substances, their uses and antidotes.

7. The former and present state of cultivation, and your thoughts on farther improvements, either in respect to agriculture, roads or canals.

8. Monuments and relicks of the ancient Indians; number and present state of any remaining Indians among you.

9. Singular instances of longevity and fecundity from the first settlement, to the present time.

10. Observations on the weather, diseases, and the influence of the climate, or of particular situations, employments and aliments, especially the effect of spirituous liquors on the human constitution.

11. Accurate bills of mortality, specifying ages and casualties, the proportion of births and deaths; and the increase or decrease of population.

12. Observations on manufactures of various kinds in any part of America, at any time; and a comparative view of them at any two or more periods; particularly before and since the independence of the United States; before and since the establishment of the present federal constitution; with thoughts on the farther improvement of them.

13. Past and present state of fisheries either in the seas or rivers of America.

14. Modes of education, private or public; what encouragement is given to schools and colleges, and what is done to advance literature; whether you have a social library, what is the number of books, and of what value.

15. What remarkable events have befallen your State, county, town, or particular families or persons at any time.

☞ The Corresponding Members of this Society are requested to transmit to the Corresponding Secretary, any historical and geographical information of which they may be possessed, respecting any part of the American Continent and Islands, together with printed acts and journals of Assemblies and Conventions, whether civil or ecclesiastical. And the Society will gratefully receive from them and from all other persons whatever, any books, pamphlets, manuscripts, maps or plans which may be useful in forming an historical collection—and any natural or artificial productions which may enlarge the Museum.

NO. II.

As one branch of a collection of materials for the civil and ecclesiastical history of this country—it is intended to form a complete series of Sermons, On the discovery of America.

On the completion of one century from the discovery or settlement of any *State*, *Town*, or other place in the United States.

Delivered before the General Court } in Plymouth or
At the anniversary elections } Boston, in Connecticut, New Hampshire, or any other of the States.

At the anniversary conventions of the clergy, Episcopal, Presbyterian, Congregational, or Baptist.

At the anniversary elections of officers of the artillery company.

On annual and special Fasts, and Thanksgivings.

To militia companies, or to troops in camp.

On victory or defeat in war.

On the return of peace.
On remarkable events, as fires, earthquakes, epidemic sickness, &c.
At assizes, or the opening courts of justice.
At town meetings and on other popular occasions.

Orations, Sermons, or Poems,
On the anniversary of the first landing of our ancestors at Plymouth.
On the anniversary of the 5th of March.
On the anniversary of the 4th of July.
At the meetings of the Cincinati Society.
On the death of eminent characters in church or state.
Before any literary society.

Journals, laws, resolves and protests, Of Congresses.
Of assemblies, Conventions, and other Legislative and deliberative bodies.
Conferences and treaties of public Commissioners, appointed to treat with Indians.

Tax acts of an older date than 1775.

Proclamations by authority, and other single printed sheets.

Proceedings of Episcopal conventions, Ecclesiastical councils, Presbyteries, Synods, General Assemblies, Baptist associations; Circular Letters of the societies of Friends; and of other denominations of christians.

Indian exploits, speeches, anecdotes, &c.

Narratives, Of battles with the Indians.
Of captives, their exploits, sufferings, escapes, &c.
Of missionaries and itinerant preachers of all denominations.

Journals, Of voyagers and travellers, for *discovery*, *curiosity*, or other causes.
Minutes, or other doings of *political clubs*.

Magazines, museums, newspapers, &c.

No. III.

Directions for preserving animals and parts of animals.

QUADRUPEDS. The *head* should be preserved as nearly as possible in its natural form, with all its parts. If it be necessary to remove any of the bones of the head, care should be taken, to retain the *jaw-bones* with all the *teeth* entire; as the number, form, and situation of the teeth afford some of the most essential and distinguishing characters. The *tongue* ought to be preserved in its natural form; also the *legs*, *feet*, and *hoofs* or *claws*.

BIRDS. These should be preserved in *full plumage*; with the *bill, tongue*, and other parts of the head; *the wings, thighs, legs, and claws*; and the fleshy part of the *rump*, in which the tail feathers are inserted; with all the feathers as nearly as may be in their natural position. There are many parts or appendages of the head, the presence or absence of which affords distinguishing characters. Specimens of birds of both sexes and of the same species are desirable. The *nests* and *eggs* of birds contribute to increase the knowledge of natural history.

AMPHIBIOUS. The *head*, with all its parts; the *skin* or *shell* in its natural form; with all the *limbs* and appendages.

SERPENTS. The whole *head*, *teeth* and *tongue*. The skin ought to be opened on one side, to preserve uninjured the *scales* on the belly, from the head to the end of the tail. A small portion of the *bone* at the end of the *tail* should be retained. If the skin be spread open and dried (as hereafter directed in the mode of drying the skins of birds) all the rings, spots, strips will appear; and especially the scales under the belly, called the *scuta* and *squama*; the number of which affords distingushing characters.

FISHES. Specimens may be preserved, by spliting the head and taking one half of the *head* and *gills*, and *skins*, with all the *fins* of the back and belly, and along the *tail* to its extremity; the membraneous part which is an extension of the head over the gills, called the *branchia*, and contains a number of long bones called *rays*, which are generally essential in giving the characters of fishes.

INSECTS. These should be preserved entire.

TESTACEOUS. In preserving those who have two valves or shells; great care should taken to preserve the *joints* by which the shells or valves are connected; because they contain the essential characters. Those shells which are found with the fish in them are most valuable for the brightness of colour.

ZOOPHYTES, which partake of the nature of both animals and vegetables, should be preserved entire; with the substances to which they may be found to adhere.

No. IV.

Doctor CUTLER's *method of preserving the skins of birds.*

"Open the skin along the breast; remove the whole of the body and neck, retaining the bones in the fore-part of the head; the wings, thighs and legs. Then spread the skin, open; and place it on a sheet of brown paper, adjusting the head, wings, legs and tail. Over the skin, thus disposed, place another sheet of paper, and a small weight, so as to produce a gentle pressure. When the skin is become somewhat dry and stiff, it may be moistened with a sponge or brush dipped

in spirits.* Then sprinkle the skin pretty thick with a powder composed of equal parts of alum, salt-petre, and black pepper. Then place it between two sheets of paper as before, with a gentle pressure. It may be enclosed in several thicknesses of paper, to prevent all the feathers from being injured by the heat, and be placed for several hours in an oven after the bread is drawn." M. CUTLER.

No. V.

Mr. PECK's *methods of preserving animals and their skins.*

"*First.* Take half an ounce of crude *Sal amoniac* in powder; put it into a pint of water; and when dissolved, add one ounce of *corrosive sublimate mercury* also in powder.

When this solution is used, it should be put into a glass phial and set in a vessel of cold water, over the fire. When the water boils, the solution will be sufficiently heated. When heated, it must be laid on with a brush. It is used for washing the inside of boxes, in which insects and other preparations are kept. There should be a string or wire, round the neck of the phial, by which it may be lifted when hot; and it must be heated in a glass phial as directed; because it corrodes with great rapacity every metalic substance.

"*Second.* Take twelve ounces of *rectified spirit of wine*; one ounce and a half of *spirit of turpentine;* mix, and add half an ounce of *camphor.*

The skins of animals may be passed over with this fluid, by means of a brush. It will destroy several species of insects.

"*Third.* Take white *arsenic* two ounces, *alum,* common *salt,* flower of *sulphur,* white *chalk,* one ounce of each: *colocynth* one quarter of an ounce, and of black *pepper* one ounce. Let each be powdered separately, then mix them intimately.

"*Fourth.* With this compound powder, let the fresh skins of animals be sprinkled on the inside; and for the outside, use one pint of *rectified spirit* in which one quarter of an ounce of *mercury sublimate corrosive* is dissolved. This method is very proper for birds. The celebrated REAUMUR used every spring to place his preparations in an oven made so hot as only not to burn the feathers or hair; by which means any latent insects were destroyed.

It may not be improper to observe, that these are all nocturnal insects, and begin to move soon after twilight in quest of proper substances on which to deposit their eggs. The evening is therefore a fit time to examine the walls, by which attention, many of them may be destroyed. I have found this a useful precaution. The specimens themselves should be frequently and carefully examined, to discover any

* The stiffest skins of any animal whatever may be rendered soft and pliable by the application of the yolk of an egg mixed with warm water.

insects which may have crept into them; without this care, no application whatever will I believe effectually preserve them."

WM. D. PECK.

No. VI.

A method of preserving birds and other animals, from the Philosophical Transactions, reccommended by Dr. LETTSOM, *in his Traveller's Companion*, p. 13.

"Birds in perfect plumage should be opened from the upper part of the breast, to the vent, with a sharp knife or pair of scissors; the feathers of the breast and belly being first carefully laid aside by the fingers; so as not to hinder the skin being easily come at. The skin must then be carefully loosened from all the fleshy parts of the breast and body. Take out all the entrails. Then with a composition of *burnt alum*, *camphor* and *cinnamon*, of each an equal quantity, well powdered and mixed, let the whole carcase be strewed over lightly; but *salt is not to be used* with this composition, as it will, in moist weather, drop and besmear the feathers. Pour into the body a small quantity of *camphorated spirit of wine*; after that, fill up the cavity with *cotton* or any soft wooly substance, pouring some of the aforesaid spirit into the cotton or stuffing.

"Fill up the body where the flesh has been taken away, with cotton, and your composition; and having a fine needle and silk, sew up the skin, beginning at the breast; observing, as you approach towards the vent, to stuff the skin as tight as it will bear. This will be easily accomplished by means of a small stick, of wood or ivory, till the whole is done. Then lay the feathers of the breast and belly in their proper order.

"To preserve the *head*, MR. KUCKAHN directs the neck to be pulled within the skin, till the back of the skull is drawn into sight; out of which a small piece is to be cut, and the brains extracted. The cavity of the skull is then to be moistened with spirits and filled with the composition and with cotton; the skin may then be drawn to its proper place.

"Or, the brain may be extracted, by making an incision through the roof of the mouth (taking care not to injure the tongue) with a sharp pointed knife and drawing the substance of the brain, the eyes, and other internal parts of the head; the cavity should be immediately filled with the composition and cotton. No water should be used to cleanse any of the cavities.

"Large *sea-fowls* have thick, strong skins; such may be skinned, taking care to preserve the bones of the head, and other essential characteristic parts. The inside of the skin may be moistened with any of the aforementioned solutions, the sublimate solution to be preferred. But where these cannot be had, a mixture of *tobacco-dust*, *alum*, *pep-*

per, and *camphor* may be substituted. The skin may then be stuffed with oakum or tobacco steeped in the solution, and sewed up. It should be kept dry, and as soon as possible dried in an oven, not so hot as to crisp the feathers.

"The skins of *fishes* taken off at sea may be preserved in a strong brine, with the addition of a little alum.

"When any subject is to be kept some time in a hot climate, it should be secured in a box filled with oakum, tow, or tobacco, well sprinkled with the sublimate solution.

"Small birds may be preserved whole in spirits; the finest plumage is not injured by this mode.

"Small quadrupeds, reptiles, zoophytes and marine insects, may also be preserved in spirits, with the addition of a little alum; the corks of the phials must be well secured, or the spirits will evaporate. The first drawn spirits, commonly called *high wines* are to be preferred.

"Winged insects are best preserved by drying; when first caught, they should be put into boxes well besmeared with camphor.

No. VII.

Method of collecting and preserving vegetables. By Dr. LETTSOM.

"When the naturalist is in search of vegetable productions, different soils and situations should be examined; as the sea and its shores, deep running waters, dykes, marshes, moors, mountains, rocks, woods, neglected or cultivated fields. Each of these affords peculiar plants; and when any are collected, the particular soil and situation should be remarked. If it be convenient to take the whole plant with its root, flowers and parts of fructification entire and perfect, the most effectual way of preserving it, is to put it into a bottle of spirits. But it is often more conveuient to convey them dried in a *hortus siccus*.

"To do this in the best manner, and to make the stalks, leaves, and flowers lie flat and smooth, they must be exposed, between papers, to a free dry air with considerable pressure upon them. The leaves and flowers should be carefully expanded; for on this, the beauty and value of the specimen greatly depend. The plants should be gathered on a dry day, whilst they are in full bloom and all their parts perfect and entire. When perfectly dry, they may be kept, either loose in quires of paper, or fastened into a book, with glue made of fish isinglass, dissolved in boiling water.* Particular care should be taken to avoid any injuries from moisture or insects; to prevent any accident from the latter, let the paper and stalks of the plants be sprinkled with the sublimate solution.

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* One ounce of fish isinglass dissolved in a quart of brandy, and boiled till three quarters of the liquor be evaporated, will make a fine glue, which may be kept bottled for a long time.
Dr. CLARKSON, late of Philadelphia.

The *impressions* of plants well taken off on paper look very little inferior to the best drawings. Several methods have been recommended. The following by Mr. Peck is very easy and effectual.

No. VIII.

Mr. Peck's *method of taking impressions of vegetable leaves by means of* smoke.

"The apparatus necessary for this purpose consists of a pane of glass; a pair of pliers, the jaws of which must be covered with leather; a pair of small forceps; a wooden cylinder, about an inch and a quarter in diameter, covered with soft woolen cloth, wrapped four or five times round it and secured; two pieces of sponge of the size of a hen's egg; and some splinters of pitch pine wood It is convenient also to have two cups of water.

"The process is as follows.—Take a dry leaf, let it lie in warm water till it becomes perfectly flexible; then with one of the sponges moisten the glass; lay the leaf on it, with the face next the glass, pressing it close with the sponge, which at the same time absorbs all superfluous moisture. The glass is then to be taken up by the pliers; a splinter of the pitch pine is to be lighted and the leaf held over the smoke; it must be kept moving, that the smoke may be equally distributed and the leaf prevented from drying.

"When it is sufficiently blackened, it is to be removed from the glass with the small forceps, taking it by the stalk, near the leaf, and placed on a smooth clean table. Then with the other sponge dipped in clean water, wet the paper on each side, till it is sufficiently moist and soft; then laying it carefully on the leaf, pass the roller over it, bearing on it with both hands, with an even pressure; and you will find a beautiful impression of the leaf with every vein and ramification.

"The smoke is to be washed from the glass, for every new impression. If the leaf chosen is fresh, it must be suffered to wither, then wetted and placed on the glass as above."

Wm. D. Peck.

No. IX.

Method of preserving marine productions.

"*Corals*, *Corallines*, *Sponges* and other marine productions are found in considerable variety near the coasts of islands and continents, particularly in hot climates. Some of these are very tender and brittle, when dry, and should therefore be carefully packed up in sand, in order to keep them steady; or they may be placed between papers in the manner of a *hortus siccus*.

"In hot climates the insects are rapacious and the finest fan-corals and others of a soft texture, when first taken out of the sea, are sometimes almost devoured before they become hard and dry. To prevent injuries of this kind; a little powdered corrosive sublimate or its solution may be sprinkled on them. Some of the smaller, and some branches of the larger may be put into spirits and the parts of them preserved more distinctly."

DR. LETTSOM.

No. X.

In collecting mineral *and* fossil *substances, the following particulars are to be attended to.*

"When any articles* are collected, mark them by numbers or some other sign of distinction referring to a catalogue, with all the particulars relative to the subject—as (1.) Where it was found. (2.) In what quantity. (3.) Whether on the surface of the earth, or at what depth. (4.) In what position, whether horizontal, perpendicular, or inclined, in what angle and to what point of the compass. (5.) Whether in strata or loose. (6.) The depth and thickness of the strata, how inclined and to what point; whether the fissures be horizontal, perpendicular or inclined; and what fossil bodies are contained in the fissures. (7.) The quality of the neighboring waters, whether pure, tasteless, purgative, vitriolic, chalybeate, &c.

"The places to be searched are the sides and gullies of hills, the shores of the sea and rivers, with adjacent banks and cliffs, and the falls of rivers.

"The situation of mines, pits and quarries, whether in vallies, hills, or plains, and the disposition of the strata, their depth and thickness. The damps and steams of mines and pits, and the effects of them on the human body, or on fire; in what seasons and in what state of the air they are observed; and what is the temperature of the air at particular depths. The accounts of these things given by natives and workmen." All these are subjects of inquiry for a naturalist.

DR. LETTSOM.

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* Sands and clays, chalk, flints, and pit coal are particularly desirable because useful in manufactures.

COLLECTIONS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

FOR THE YEAR 1795.

A Topographical Description of Hopkinton, in the County of Middlesex. By Dr. Stimson.

Sir, *Hopkinton*, 1794.

IN compliance with your request, as expressed in your circular letter, in the name of the Historical Society, of Nov. 1, 1791, I here transmit to you such answers to the several interrogations contained in said letter as I have been able to collect, together with a plan of the town. Many of the answers are imperfect; but are the best I could obtain, either from written reccords of the town, or elderly people. If from them you can collect any thing that will be of service in promoting the laudible design of the society, it will afford me much satisfaction, and I shall be happy in contributing (although but a mite) to so valuable a design.

I remain, with sentiments of esteem,

Your very humble servant,

To the Rev. Jeremy Belknap, D. D. Corresponding Secretary of the Historical Society.

Jeremy Stimson.

THE town of Hopkinton lies in a westerly direction from Boston; and at about thirty-two miles distance. It was incorporated December 13, 1715. Its Indian name, Quansigomog. There is an hill in the east end of the town that was called, by the Indians, Megonko, and goes by the name of Megonko hill to this day. The principal part of the town was purchased of the natives by Mr. Leverett, then president of Harvard college, in Cambridge, for the purpose of perpetuating the legacy of Edward Hopkins, Esq. to said college; and was called Hopkinston, in honour to his name. It was leased out, by the president and trustees of Harvard college, to the first settlers. The settlement began about the

the year 1710 or 12, and was never interrupted. The town was originally annexed to the county of Middlesex, in the province of Massachusetts bay. There has been no important division of the town. Several farms at the west end, containing about three thousand acres, have been set off, and annexed to Upton, in the county of Worcester ; and a farm at the east end, known by the name of Parker's farm, containing five hundred acres, to Holliston.

Although many of the inhabitants have been, from time to time, engaged in the former Indian wars, and some were killed, others died of sickness, and others taken prisoners by the Indians, and carried into captivity ; yet I can obtain no accurate account of the matter worth communicating. The most remarkable event that has taken place in this town, relative to war, is, that in or about the year 1746, twelve men and a boy were enlisted, by Capt. Prescott of Concord, to go upon the expedition to Cuba. They went, and all died there, except the boy. He only returned, and it was remarked by the old people, that they were twelve of the most robust young men in the town. Their names were,

Edward Carrel,	Francis Peirce,	Samuel Frale,
Henry Walker,	Thomas Belloes,	Samuel Clemons,
Henry Walker, jun.	Eleazer Rider,	Ebenezer Coller,
Gideon Gould,	Cornelius Claflen,	Samuel Rosseau.

There has been no division of the town into parishes or precincts.

A Congregational church was gathered in Hopkinton the 2d of September, 1724. On the same day the Rev. Samuel Barrett was ordained pastor of said church. Some time after a number of people living in town of the Episcopal order, the Rev. Roger Price, a gentleman of eminence and ability, came from England, and erected an house near the middle of the town, for public worship, and endowed it with a glebe, and public worship was performed under his ministry for a number of years After his removal to England, he sent the Rev. Mr. Troutbeck, who officiated in that office for some time ; but since the removal of Mr. Troutbeck, those people have not existed as a distinct society.

January 15, 1772, the Rev. Elijah Fitch was ordained colleague pastor of the Congregational church with the Rev. Samuel Barrett. The Rev. Samuel Barrett departed this life

life December 11, 1772, aged seventy-two years. He was a pious, good christian, a man of great candour and good-nature; and died universally beloved and lamented by all his acquaintance, after having been in the ministry almost fifty years.

The Rev. Elijah Fitch departed this life December 18, 1788, aged forty-two years. He possessed all the good qualities of his predecessor, together with a high relish for literature and the sciences. He possessed also the most lively sensibility. No man ever more feelingly participated in the happiness or misery of his fellow men than he; or better filled the several offices of pastor, husband, parent, friend, neighbour, and townsman. In short, he possessed almost every qualification that could render him useful and amiable, either in public or private life. The only thing I ever heard objected to his character, was his taciturnity; and perhaps he was a little too reserved in publick and mixed companies. The principal work he has published, is a poem in blank verse, entitled, *The Beauties of Religion.*

October 5, 1791, the Rev. Nathaniel Howe was ordained pastor of the Congregational church.

The two first persons liberally educated from this town, were the Rev. John Mellen, now of Hanover, in Massachusetts, and Doctor John Wilson. The respectability and literary productions of the former are well known to the publick, he having been in the ministry upwards of fifty years. The latter, who was eminent as a physician, lived and died in this town. A number of others from this town have since received the honours of college; and the spirit of education generally prevails.

The plan of the town is the best answer to the 6th article requested in the circular letter. There are two ponds in the westerly part of this town; from one of which, known by the name of White-Hall pond, issues one of the extreme branches of Concord river, which empties itself into the Merrimac. From the other, known by the name of the North pond, (although it lies nearly south from the first, and not more than two miles distant) issues one of the extreme branches of Providence river, which runs through Providence, and empties into the sea at Newport, in Rhode-Island. One of the extreme branches of Charles river also takes its rise in the southerly part of this town, from small beginnings. The

The town is hilly, interspersed with small vallies, and well watered. Some of the swamps, that have never been cleared and cultivated till within a few years, are found to be the most productive, and some of the best lands we have. The uplands are rough and stony, hard to be subdued, but are naturally good for grazing and orcharding. There are several quarries or ledges of stone in the town, which are good for building, and can be cut into almost any shape or form the builder pleases. A large, upright, and convenient dwelling house was erected the last year from one of these, and the stone found to answer the purpose exceedingly well. There are a number of good mill seats in the town, and not less than seven or eight grist mills are already erected, and a number of saw mills, iron works, &c.

The former state of cultivation was bad, but is now much altered for the better. The people have been very industrious since the late war, and have improved their lands to much greater advantage than formerly. A spirit of emulation prevails among the farmers. Their enclosures, which used to be fenced with hedge and log fences, are now generally fenced with good stone wall. The roads, which used to be remarkable for their roughness, and were almost impassable, are now good, and constantly becoming better. The town is still capable of very great improvement.

We have none of the natives remaining among us, nor any of their monuments or relics worthy of notice.

We have no instances of longevity exceeding an hundred years, although many have arrived to nearly that period. The town, however, is generally healthy.

The weather is very changeable, often shifting from very warm to extreme cold, which frequently occasions inflamatory disorders among the inhabitants. Before the swamps were cleared and drained, the inhabitants used to be very subject to the fever and ague; but since, there have been no complaints of the kind in the town. With regard to spirituous liquors, I have reason to believe, from repeated observation, that a moderate use of them is not detrimental, but, on the contrary beneficial and salutary, especially during the extreme heat in the latter part of summer, when our farmers get their hay and reap their first harvest. But the bad effects of too free a use, or a constant habit of drinking them, are too well known to need any description; they not only destroy

destroy health, but enfeeble the mind, rendering the persons almost stupid and senseless.

I can give but little information respecting the bills of mortality, increase of population, &c. there being no records of them kept in the town till the settlement of the Rev. Elijah Fitch, in 1772. He kept a record of the deaths from the time of his settlement till a little before his death, being sixteen years and ten months. They are as follows.

	In 1772	39	in 1778	29	in 1784	15
	73	21	79	8	85	19
	74	10	80	11	86	12
Principally with the Dysentery.	75	45	81	11	87	12
	76	19	82	14	From Jan. to Sept. 88	—10
	77	22	83	18		
		156		91		68
						91
						156
					Total	315

In the interim between the death of the Rev. Elijah Fitch and the settlement of the Rev. Nathaniel Howe, were no records kept. From the settlement of Mr. Howe to the present time, they are as follows:

In	1792	5
	1793	19
	1794 to Dec. 8.	16
	Total	40

No fisheries or manufactures are carried on in the town worthy of notice. The inhabitants however manufacture the principal part of their clothing. There is scarcely a house but has looms, spinning-wheels, &c. suitable for the purpose.

The inhabitants of this town are generally much engaged in the education of their children, and the town yearly grants liberal supplies for that purpose. We have a small social library, which was founded in the year 1789, and is annually increasing, but is too inconsiderable yet to be worthy of notice.

No events have taken place in the town of Hopkinton, that I can ascertain, sufficiently remarkable for the attention of the Historical Society.

A

A Topographical Description of Thomaston, in the County of Lincoln, and District of Maine, 1794.

THOMASTON, on St. George's river, lies about seventy leagues distant from Boston, and nearly in the latitude of 44° 20′* N. and about the distance of four leagues from Franklin island, at the mouth of the river; is bounded on the N. W. by Warren, on the W. by Cushing and Warren, S. by Cushing, and E. and N. E. by the Atlantic ocean. It was incorporated as a town March 20, 1777, though, on many accounts, it might have claimed the privilege years before.

Its Indian name was Georgeekee, from whence was probably derived its present name of Georges; but a considerable river, in the S. E. part of the town, bears the name of Wessowessgeeg.

It is difficult to ascertain, with precision, the exact time when its settlement first began; but, from the best information, it may be stated to be about the year 1720; as about that time, in consequence of the interruptions from the natives, government ordered the erection of a fort in said town, about five miles below the head of the tide, for the security of the inhabitants, and as a check to the Indians. A regular garrison of provincials occupied the fort, in which a number of cannon were mounted, and in which nearly all the first settlers built huts for themselves and their families to reside in. It is now entirely demolished, and but few vestiges of regular works are discoverable; but, in lieu thereof, a most elegant building has this year been built, belonging to the honourable Secretary at war; which, for magnificence, elegance, and taste, it is supposed, will, when finished, excel any in the commonwealth.

In the year 1722, a considerable body of French and Indians came to the town, with a view to take the fort; and daily, for some time, fired upon any stragglers from the garrison, killed some, wounded others, and captivated and carried away a few. Finding they could not openly possess themselves of the fort, they clandestinely endeavored to undermine and sap its walls; and had proceeded several rods from the place where they first broke ground, toward the

* 44° 8′ *Holland.*

the fort, when, providentially, the ground fell in upon, and buried many of them in the ruins. The ditch, wherein they were buried, now remains plainly to be seen. There are now no Indians remaining in or near the place, nor are many relicks or monuments of theirs to be found.

The number of inhabitants in October, 1791, at the time of the federal census or enumeration, was eight hundred and one; since which the births have greatly exceeded the deaths; and a number of emigrants, from different places, having settled here, their present numbers may be fairly estimated at about twelve hundred.

The air, on St. George's river, like most of the eastern country, is, in general, healthy and pure. The prevailing winds, during the winter season, are from the Northwest. Their snows generally fall on a level, to the depth of three or four feet. Frosts are frequently discoverable in September; and in October, ice in considerable quantities is made. The snow and ice generally lie till April, when the sun is so high as to melt and carry it away. It is observable, that where the snow and ice lie deepest and longest on the ground, the vegetation of the roots and herbs increases. In July and August, the heat is often times more intense than at Boston; but the evenings and mornings are much cooler. Fruit trees do not flourish, as they cannot be sheltered from the chilling colds and blasts of the ocean, and be brought to maturity.

The salt-water rivers and streams in winter are generally frozen, and remain so till spring, which entirely prevents navigation during that time; but fuel being plenty, the inhabitants, during this season of inclemency, may, if they please, have the comforts of good fires and other enjoyments.

Almost all kinds of trees, excepting fruit, walnut, and chesnut trees, grow here luxuriantly. There are but few hills or mountains remarkable in this town for height or bigness, excepting one, called Madambetticks, from the top of which may be seen islands and lands to a great distance. Near this, it is supposed, there is a considerable quantity of iron ore; but no attempts have yet been made to ascertain its quality or determine its goodness.

St. George's river which divides Thomaston from Warren and Cushing, is navigable for brigs and ships, of a large burthen, up to the narrows; and thence about four miles higher

higher up the river, to nearly the head of the tide, for sloops and schooners of eighty or ninety tons. The river is in width about half a league, till it comes to the narrows, where its breadth gradually decreases to its head. Fish of most all kinds, in the several seasons, abound, which afford sustenance for many of its inhabitants; and even lobsters, oysters, clams, and other delicacies of the aqueous kind, are plenty in this river. On it, and its several streams, are a sufficient number of tide and other grist and saw mills, which afford great profit to their owners.

In so new a country, elegant buildings cannot be expected. In general they are low, and the care of the people in this respect seems confined to making them warm and comfortable, though some of them are tolerably elegant, and larger houses begin to be in vogue; and as the people grow wealthier, they will be likely to pay more attention to their architecture than formerly. On the whole, Thomaston, for situation, salubrity of air, trade, and taste, bids fair to rival almost any in the county in future; and as the great post road, leading from Casco-bay to Penobscot, Machias, and Passamaquoddy, runs through this town, it produces considerable travelling and company, and naturally prompts the inhabitants to make their roads and bridges good, and keep them in tolerable repair.

This town, like too many others in this country, has till lately, by reason of the small number of its inhabitants, and their low circumstances and habits, neglected paying that attention to their literary improvements, and the education of their children, which they ought. But the inhabitants of this river, and in this town, at present seem disposed to cultivate the minds, as well as adorn the persons, of their children; and though there are no publick schools constantly kept, there are several private ones throughout the year.

In the year 1787, a society, under the name or title of "The Friendly Society in the county of Lincoln," was formed of certain members belonging to Waldoborough and St. Georges; but on account of certain attending inconveniences, it was agreed to divide the society and books, which are now confined to St. George's river; and the society at present consists of nearly fifty members, many of whom have a taste for reading, and the number of whose well chosen books, (the property of the society) amounts to upwards of

two

two hundred volumes, whose value at the time of the purchase was little less than one hundred pounds.

There are two religious societies nearly equal in numbers, baptist and congregational. The greater number of professing christians are of the former denomination. For many years they have had for their settled minister the Rev. Isaac Case. They now are, since his removal to the Kennebeck, under the instruction of the Rev. Elisha Snow. The congregationalists are, for about one third of the time, supplied with preaching by the Rev. Thurston Whiting, and in a short time, it is to be hoped , may have a minister settled among them, and constantly residing with them, which would much condnce to their happiness and prosperity.

The soil in general is not so warm and good as in the more westwardly part of the state, being more inclined to clay than loam: for which reason the growth of Indian corn is not often attempted, excepting in the N. E. part of the town, where large crops have been, and commonly are produced. Rye, barley, spring wheat, beans, peas, and flax, succeed very well, though, by reason of too great attention to lumbering and lime-burning, less of those articles are produced than are necessary for the consumption of the inhabitants. The marshes and meadows yield a tolerable supply of grass for the cattle: their pastures are sweet and good, and their mutton, butter, and cheese, are of a superior quality. A great part of the inhabitants subsist by lime-burning and lumbering. The remainder are engaged in husbandry, with a proportionable number of traders, mechanics, and professional characters.

Of late, several considerable vessels have been built in this river, which are employed in coasting, and sometimes on foreign voyages; and the spirit and inclination of the richer inhabitants for ship building, seems increasing. There are now owned in Georges, (though the river, from its entrance to its head, does not exceed four leagues) one brig, two topsail schooners, and nine sloops, whose measured tonnage is about eleven hundred tons.

The grand staple, however, of Thomaston, is its lime, which has not its equal for quality or quantity in America. Rock, of which this is made, is found in large quantities, and nearly on every lot, in the northerly and eastwardly part of the town. The veins of rock seem to be in about

a N.

a N. and S. direction. Spots of land, or rather rock, of six rods square, frequently are sold for an hundred dollars. There are now about thirty-five kilns erected in the town, in which lime is burned, each of which on an average will produce two hundred fifty-gallon casks. These, if burned only three times a year, (though many are five or six times) will furnish for the market and home consumption about twenty-one thousand casks. Each kiln requires, on an average, for each burning, about twenty-five cords of wood, which in a year will consume nearly or quite twenty-seven hundred cords of wood more than are necessary for family or common uses. This lime, when well burned, will net the owners, at the market, about six shillings a cask, the annual amount of which will be upwards of twenty thousand dollars. A kiln is generally burning four turns, or ninety-six hours, during all which time the fire and heat ought to be nearly as intense as in a glass manufactory, and without any cessation. This lime, when burnt, is usually exported to the western markets and disposed of, though of late considerable quantities have been sent to the southward to advantage. Though, at first view, the above account may seem very flattering, and convey ideas of solid wealth in the possessors, and that this town enjoys advantages beyond their neighbours; yet it may be said, and perhaps with strict truth, that the abundence of the lime rock, and quantity of lime made, really is an impoverishment to the possessors and common manufacturers of it. Too much attention being paid to this business, prevents a due cultivation of the lands; and agriculture, the principal source of wealth, is neglected and uncherished. The process of making lime, in every stage of it is expensive and laborious; and those who depend on the business for a principal part of their living, may literally be said to earn it with the sweat of their brow. Nearly all the provision, implements of drilling, powder casks, &c. are to be purchased at a high rate, by the greater part of the burners, who are generally but in moderate circumstances, from the traders; and the profits of the labour are frequently anticipated, and go into the hands of those who never toiled or laboured for them. Hence probably, in general, arise the too frequent complaints of fraud in filling the casks, &c.

The records of the town having been till lately little attended to, no accurate accounts of births or deaths can be given.

en. It is however presumed that for health and purity of air no town in the state can exceed it, though of late an inveterate canker quinsy has prevailed in this and the neighbouring towns, principally among children, which for some time baffled the power of medicine, and generally proved mortal. It has now in a great degree abated.

The Proceedings of two Conventions, held at Portland, to consider the Expediency of a separate Government in the District of Maine.

Collected from the original Files and Records.

FROM the latter part of the year 1784, to the autumn of 1785, a separation of the territory east of Pascataqua river, from the government of Massachusetts, was a general topic of conversation among the inhabitants. During this time, the Falmouth Gazette, then the only news-paper that was published in the district of Maine, was crowded with addresses to the people upon the subject. Clergymen, physicians, lawyers, and farmers, seemed engaged in accelerating the event. They all employed both their pens and their private influence, in convincing their fellow citizens of the propriety and advantages of becoming a distinct member of the Union.

At the time I now speak of, there were also a number of respectable opposers of this measure. These, generally speaking, were either those gentlemen who were concerned in trade, and feared an interruption in their commercial connexions, or such as held offices under the government, and feared the consequences of a new appointment. In this, as in most other cases of political experiment, the opinion of each party was decided by a prospect of their own, rather than the public interest. To this, however, there were doubtless some exceptions. It is difficult to discover the secret motives by which mankind are actuated: but from a personal acquaintance with the views and principles of the leaders upon both sides of the question, I think I may be excused in saying, that they were both in some degree influenced by a prospect of private advantage.

When the subject first came before the publick, the great body of the people seemed to be indifferent as to the event;

and although they afterwards became more interested, they never exceeded the bounds of *moderate zeal*. They were under no oppression. Many inconveniencies, arising from their remote situation from the seat of government, might doubtless have been removed by a well-administered government of their own. But to bring them into the measure upon this ground, there was not a single material to work with, but *reason*, and dispassionate application of it to their particular circumstances. What was the probability of success from the use of this, I leave to the judgment of those who are best acquainted with the instruments by which the uninformed multitude are commonly governed.

I shall not attempt to collect the arguments which were addressed to the people, by those who wrote in the Falmouth Gazette; because, to exhibit a complete view of them would require a lengthy discussion, and because I shall have occasion to mention the substance of them among the doings of the convention, which were collected and published under the title of "grievances."

After the subject had been lengthily and thoroughly examined, in publick and in private, it became necessary to devise and adopt some plan, which, when put in operation, would bring the business to a point. With respect to this, there was some diversity of opinion. Individuals were averse to any active step, lest they should be considered as officious. The great extent of the district rendered it extremely difficult to put the people in motion, in any regular and orderly method. At length a number of persons signed a paper, and gave it to the printers of the Falmouth Gazette, requesting them to publish a notification to the inhabitants of the district, to meet at Falmouth, for the purpose of holding a conference upon the proposed separation. This notification was accordingly published in the above mentioned gazette of the 17th of September and 1st of October, 1785, and is in the following words. "Agreeable to a request made and "signed by a large and respectable number of persons to the "printers of this gazette, the inhabitants of the three coun-"ties of York, Cumberland, and Lincoln, are hereby noti-"fied, that so many of them as are inclined, or can conve-"niently attend, are requested to meet at the meeting house "of the Rev. Messrs. Smith and Deane in Falmouth, on "Wednesday the fifth day of October next, to join in a

"CONFERENCE,

"CONFERENCE, then and there to be held, on the proposal "of having the said counties erected into a SEPARATE GOV- "ERNMENT; and if it should be thought best, to form some "plan for collecting the sentiments of the people on the "subject, and pursue some orderly and regular method of "carrying the same into effect."

In consequence of this publication, about *thirty persons* from the town of Falmouth and its vicinity convened at the time and place therein appointed. They entered upon the discussion of their business; the result of which was, that a circular letter should be printed, signed, and forwarded by a committee to the several towns and plantations in the district, requesting them to send delegates to meet in a convention to be held at the time, place, and for the purpose mentioned in the circular letter; the copy of which (with the names of the committee) may be seen in the Appendix, No. I.

In this manner the first convention for considering this important subject, was brought together. When we consider the difficulty and hazard which commonly attend the assembling of bodies of people, for the avowed purpose of determining upon the expediency of withdrawing themselves from the government they are under, we must admit that the method adopted in this instance was very unexceptionable. There was an open application to the people, to attend, or not attend, the proposed conference, as they saw fit, There were no insinuations, in any manner, propagated to the prejudice of the existing government; but on the contrary, every step was proposed to be taken in an "orderly and peaceable manner"; and their right to assemble in this manner, they considered as founded on the first clause of the nineteenth article of the bill of rights. Under these impressions, the convention proceeded to organize themselves. They accordingly made choice of the Hon. William Gorham, Esq. for their president, and Stephen Longfellow, jr. for their clerk. They then voted to choose a committee to examine the returns of the delegates, who reported that the following gentlemen were duly returned, viz.

County

County of YORK.

Wells,	John Storer, Esq.
Buxton,	Samuel Knight, Nathaniel Hill,
Brownfield,	Henry Young Brown, Samuel Haywood.
Fryburgh,	Joseph Fry, Esq. Paul Langdon, Daniel Fessenden, Isaac Walker, Nathaniel Merrill,

County of CUMBERLAND.

Falmouth,	Peleg Wadsworth, Stephen Hall, Samuel Freeman, John Waite, Enoch Ilsley, Esqrs.
Scarborough,	William Thompson, Esq.
Gorham,	Edmund Phyney, William Gorham, Stephen Longfellow, jun.
Cape Elizabeth,	James Leach.
New Gloucester,	John Merrill.
Gray,	Jedediah Cobb.

County of LINCOLN.

Georgetown,	William Lithgow, Esq. Daniel McFadden.
Topsham,	Samuel Thompson, Esq.
Newcastle,	Samuel Nichols, Esq.
Bristol,	William Jones, Esq.
Hallowell,	Daniel Coney.
Vassalborough,	Dennis Getchill.
Winslow,	Zimri Haywood.
Winthrop,	Jonathan Whiting.
Pittstown,	Reuben Colburn.
Lewiston,	Lemuel Cumings.

The

The only vote of any importance that was passed at this session of the convention, was, that "a committee of nine "be chosen to make out a statement of the grievances the "three counties labour under, and also an estimate of the "expense of a separate government, and compare the same "with the expense of the government we are now under." The convention was then adjourned for a day, in order to receive the report of this committee, which was completed, made and accepted, and, together with an addition to the report, is contained in the Appendix, No. II. This report was ordered to be printed, signed by the president and transmitted to the people, for the purposes mentioned in the vote, inserted in the above-mentioned paper at the bottom of the list of grievances. The convention was then adjourned to the first Wednesday of September following.

The original files and journals of this session contain nothing more than what has been mentioned, that respects the general subject. But it may not be amiss to mention some occurrences relative to their mode of doing the business.

A motion was made by Mr. Thompson, of Scarborough, that the mode of voting should be by towns. This motion did not obtain; and the convention voted that each delegate should have a vote.

The town of Falmouth had made choice of the five gentlemen whose names are mentioned in the list of delegates for that town, and then adjourned their meeting to receive the report of a committee which they had appointed to prepare their instructions. At this adjournment, the town reconsidered their vote for the choice of delegates, dismissed the article, and dissolved the meeting. But notwithstanding this, Stephen Hall, Esq. one of the delegates, took his seat in the convention; and a vote was passed, that the other delegates from Falmouth had a right to a seat, and a committee was appointed to inform them that such was the opinion of the convention.

There is also among the files of the convention, a letter from the town of Northyarmouth, expressing their reasons for not joining in the choice of delegates, and for the unanimous opinion of that town against a separation.

There is likewise a letter on file from Daniel McFadden, one of the delegates for Georgetown, excusing himself from attending the convention, and advising them to prepare, and offer

offer to the people, the form of goverment which they proposed to recommend. He gives an opinion in this letter, that "a house of representatives would be sufficient to rule," saying, that "there might be as wise men in the house as in "the chair, and that business might be done much quicker."

In consequence of the adjournment of the convention to the first Wednesday of September, and the recommendation that a new delegation should take place, and meet at the same time, on the 6th of September, 1786, there were *two* conventions asssembled at Falmouth. The difficulty which this occasioned, was removed by the first vote of the new convention. After organizing themselves by the unanimous reelection of the president and clerk of the former convention, a "coalescence" of the two was immediately voted. Being thus united, the returns of the new delegates were examined, and the following is the list of them.

County of YORK.

Berwick,	Dr. Nathaniel Low.
Arundell,	Thomas Perkins.
Fryburgh,	Moses Ames.
Brownfield,	* Henry Young Brown, Esq.
	James Haywood.

County of CUMBERLAND.

Portland,	Peleg Wadsworth,
	Samuel Freeman,
	Stephen Hall,
	Daniel Davis
	Stephen Codman.
Scarborough,	Joshua Fabyan.
Cape Elizabeth,	Berzilla Dellano,
	Cary M'Lellan,
	* James Leach.
Gorham,	* William Gorham, president.
	* Edmund Phyney,
	* Stephen Longfellow, jun. clerk.
Standish,	Seth Spring.
New Gloucester,	* John Merrill.
Gray,	* Jedediah Cobb.
Brunswick,	Aaron Hinckley.

County

County of LINCOLN.

Hancock,	John Philbrook.
Vassalborough,	* Dennis Getchill.
Winslow,	* Zimri Haywood
Topsham,	* Samuel Thompson.
Bristol,	* William Jones.
Newcastle,	* Samuel Nichols.
Hallowell,	* Daniel Coney.
Bath,	Dummer Sewall.
Pittston,	* Reuben Coburn.
Winthrop,	Joshua Bean

* Members of the former convention.

The business transacted by this convention, which was only two days in session, brought the subject to a considerable degree of forwardness. They voted, that "In the "opinion of this convention, the counties of York, Cum- "berland, and Lincoln labour under grievances."

"That it is the opinion of this convention, the grievances "stated by the former convention (except the fifth article) "are real grievances, that the counties of York, Cumber- "land, and Lincoln, now labour under."

"That a committee of nine be appointed, to consider "what further grievances said counties labour under."

The report of this committee does not at all comport with the nature of their commission. As to the additional list of grievances, which they were appointed to exhibit, the report merely states that there were such, which demanded the serious attention of the convention; but that they could not at that time "*undertake to enumerate the multiplicity of them ;*" and, upon the whole, referred the convention to the list formerly published.

But they proceed to say, "that in justice to their con- "stituents, they esteemed it their duty to inform the conven- "tion, that they could not devise any mode which would "substantially and effectually remove the evils complained "of, except the citizens of said counties were invested with "the privilege of legislating for themselves." And they further gave it as their opinion, that "the convention should "draught a petition to the General Court, requesting their "consent, that the said counties should be erected into a "separate government; and that the same, accompanied "with

"with an address to the people upon the subject, should be "transmitted to the inhabitants of the several towns and "plantations, for their consideration."

This report was readily accepted; and a committee was thereupon chosen to draw up the address to the people, and the petition to the General Court, which was therein recommended. This address and petition are in the Appendix, No. III. They were accepted by the convention, and ordered to be printed, together with the list of grievances stated by the former convention, to be signed by the president, and forwarded to the people. The convention was then adjourned to the last Wednesday of January then ensuing.

At the arrival of this period, the business had assumed a very serious aspect; the cause of which I will explain, after stating the returns from the towns and plantations upon the question of a separation. It will be noticed, that in the address to the people, the convention had requested the clerks of the towns and plantations, "to be particular in making re-"turns of the number of voters, for and against a separation." In compliance with this request, of ninety-three towns and plantations, thirty-two only made returns. Eight of the ninety-three chose delegates, but made no returns; fifty-three, therefore, were not represented in any manner. Of the thirty-two towns and plantations which made returns, twenty-four were in favor of, and eight against, a separation. The plantation of Wales (now incorporated by the name of Monmouth) sent their returns after the convention was adjourned. The number of votes from this plantation were twenty-seven, and were unanimous in favor of a separation. The whole number of votes returned was nine hundred and seventy, of which six hundred and eighteen were in the affirmative.

The convention now proceeded to discuss the only question of any importance that could come before them, which was, whether the petition, the form of which had been proposed to the people, "*shall now be presented to the legislature?*" A vote had been passed, "that as there has been a number "of respectable towns in the counties of York, Cumberland, "and Lincoln, that have not certified to this convention their "determination of a separate state, and as the common-"wealth in general is at this time in a perplexed state, and "this

"this convention being unwilling to do any thing that shall "seem to lay any greater burthen on the General Court, "therefore it is the opinion of this convention to postpone "petitioning for a separation at present." There was a motion for the reconsideration of this vote, the discussion of which was lengthy, interesting, and spirited, the cause of which I will now proceed to explain.

The distress which every part of the government was at this time involved in, by the scarcity of money, and the public burthens, was felt in these counties in a degree equal to any part of the Commonwealth. The people were not merely depressed, they were become possessed of that kind of sullen obstinacy which is sometimes the result of despair. In this situation, ignorant of the real cause of their sufferings, and judging of the cause by the effect, they would have thrown off the yoke of any government without remorse. It was at this time that the different sentiments, by which the members of the convention were actuated, might easily be discovered. Some of them, in the language of genuine insurgents, did not hesitate to speak of the senate and attorney-general as grievances. It was evident from the declarations of others, corroborated by their private circumstances, that paper money and tender acts were *their* objects. The deplorable situation of the government, then in a state of civil war, had no influence on the minds of those who were infested with these sentiments. When this situation was dwelt upon by the friends of government in the convention, they were answered, that "now is the golden op-"portunity;" the meaning of which evidently was, however cruel and unnatural it may seem, that "the legislature "are now distracted with care and trouble; if we apply to "them at this time, they will not dare to refuse our request; "and if they do, we can drive them into a compliance, by "threatening to join in the insurrection." When this disposition to perplex the government was, in a pointed and severe manner, reprobated by one of the Portland delegates, he was told, that he was "out of his senses."

But notwithstanding these unfavourable appearances, it is but just to observe, that some of the principal promoters of a separation were men of judgment and moderation, and manifested their disapprobation of the petition's being then presented to the legislature, and voted accordingly. But

the vote for the delay in presenting the petition was reconsidered by a majority of 15 to 13, and it was accordingly put into the hands of a committee, with discretionary power to retain it, or present it to the General Court, then in session, as they saw fit.

The feelings of the people had now become interested in the doings of the convention. It was the opinion of many judicious men, that the expectations of relief, which they had formed from this quarter, were the principal cause of their quietness, during the troubles in the west of the commonwealth. It is certain they exclaimed loudly against the government; and I have no doubt but might readily have been stimulated to acts of violence. Those towns which were most dissatisfied, were most regular in the choice of delegates; and it is natural to suppose, that when these delegates returned to their constituents, they flattered them with hopes of relief from a government of their own. These hopes, to be sure, must have been delusive to the last degree, if a *speedy* removal of their burthens was the object of the people. If, therefore, this convention was the means of preventing an insurrection in this part of the country, it is an additional proof that good often comes out of evil. Upon the whole, I am inclined to believe that it was. For, without meaning to derogate from the majesty of the people, I may be excused in saying, that they are often led by appearance, rather than reality; and that, for this reason, they are commonly deceived and imposed upon by those whom they depute for their servants, especially in matters of opinion. It might, therefore, be very easy to pursuade them, that a CONVENTION (the very name of which is a consolation to the discontented multitude) possessed both the disposition and the power to administer the requisite assistance.

From the 31st of January, 1787, the convention was adjourned to the 5th of September following. Another attempt was then made to collect the sentiments of the people. A vote was passed, appointing a committee to prepare an "address and subscription paper," which was to be forwarded to the people, informing them of the state of the petition (which had been presented to the legislature) and requesting them to "sign for or against a separation." But there were never any returns of it; and from this time, the whole business, and the convention itself, gradually fell asleep.

There

There were five or six other adjournments; but no business was done, and none of the members attended, except the president and clerk, and the members for Portland. At the last of these adjournments, there was only three of the Portland members present. One of them was chosen president pro tempore, another clerk; the third made a motion for an adjournment; but as there was no one present but the president and clerk to second the motion, the convention expired, not only without a groan, but without a single mourner to weep over its remains!

APPENDIX.

No. I.

At a meeting of a number of respectable inhabitants of the counties of York, Cumberland, and Lincoln, at Messrs. Smith and Deane's meeting-house, in Falmouth, on the fifth of October, instant — agreeable to a notification published in the Falmouth Gazette, of September 17th, and 1st October instant, in order to form some plan for collecting the sentiments of said inhabitants, on the subject of said counties being formed into a separate state —

Voted — "That the subscribers be a committee to apply to the several towns and plantations, in said counties, requesting them to send delegates to meet at said meeting-house, on the first Wednesday of January next, at 10 o'clock, A. M. to consider the expediency of said counties being formed into a separate state; and if, after mature consideration, it should appear to them expedient, to pursue some regular and orderly method of carrying the same into effect."

Pursuant to the above vote, we the committee aforesaid, hereby request the inhabitants of to choose a delegate or delegates, to meet at the time and place above-mentioned, for the purpose aforesaid. *Peleg Wadsworth*, Chairman.
Stephen Longfellow, jun.
William Gorham,
Stephen Hall,
Jeremiah Hill,
Joshua Fabian,
Henry Y. Brown.

Falmouth,
October 5th, 1785.

To the inhabitants of

At

No. II.

At a convention of delegates from a number of towns in the counties of York, Cumberland, and Lincoln, held at Falmouth, on the first Wednesday of January, 1786 :—— The Hon. William Gorham, esq. was chosen president, Mr. Stephen Longfellow, jun. clerk.

It was then voted, that a committee of nine be chosen. to state the grievances, which the three counties of York, Cumberland, and Lincoln labour under, as connected with the other counties in the commonwealth of Massachusetts, from which they are separated by the intervention of the state of New Hampshire ; and also to form an estimate of the expense of a separate government, and compare the same with the expense of the government they are now under — who reported as follows :

That from their local situation, their interests are different ; and consequently cannot be fully understood, particularly attended to, and promoted in their present connexion ; whereby their growth and importance are prevented, which retards that of the United States.

That the General Court of the commonwealth of Massachusetts being so large, and their business so various and perplexing, unavoidably renders it inconvenient and expensive to the inhabitants of those counties, both with regard to their members of Court, and suitors for justice.

That applications to the supreme executive authority, being frequently necessary, are attended with great expense ; to the injury and prejudice of the inhabitants of those counties.

That the business of the Supreme Judicial Court, from the extent of territories, is so great as to render a proper arrangement in that department exceedingly difficult : And to repair to their office at Boston is very expensive.

That the present regulations of trade operate unequally, and against those counties, by reducing the price of lumber, which is detrimental to those that are employed in making the same ; while they tend to the emolument of many in the other part of the commonwealth.

That we consider it as a matter of grievance that a considerable part of the inhabitants of these counties are deprived of a vote in the House of Representatives, where all money bills

bills originate ; and there appears to be no prospect of a speedy relief.

That the present mode of taxation, by polls and estates, is very injurious to this territory, as the inhabitants cannot be employed to the same advantage, and their stocks are not so profitable ; neither can their lands be so advantageously improved, as in the other part of the commonwealth, where they enjoy a milder climate.

That the excise and impost acts operate grievously on the inhabitants of those counties, as they have not in general the advantage of orchards ; and the keeping of sheep is difficult and expensive, by the hazard from wolves and other beasts of prey, and the great length of their winters.

That the act imposing a duty on deeds, &c. operates unequally by reason of the more frequent conveyances of real property in a new than in old settled countries.

That the necessary attendance upon the state treasury is inconvenient, expensive, and grievous.

The committee have taken a view of the several constitutions of the United States ; and from some calculations they have made, are of opinion that a separate government may be adopted, whereby a very considerable part of the expense, now paid by these counties, may be saved : — But not knowing what form of government the people in said counties would choose, in case of a separation, they have not thought proper to report any estimate thereon.

Voted, to subjoin the following to the report of the above committee.

As a full representation is supposed to be the most likely way to obtain a redress of grievances, we hope the several towns in these counties will pay that attention which our peculiar circumstances require, by a general choice of members to represent them in General Court the next year.

Voted, that the report of the above committee, with what is subjoined thereto, be signed by the president of this convention, and transmitted to the several towns and plantations in the counties of York, Cumberland, and Lincoln, requesting them to choose a delegate or delegates, at their annual meeting in March next, or at such other meeting as they shall

shall think proper, to meet in convention of the first Wednesday of September next, at the Meeting-house in the first parish of Falmouth, at 10 o'clock, A. M. to consider of the grievances the inhabitants of said counties labour under; and to adopt and pursue some orderly and peaceable measure to obtain relief: And also requesting said inhabitants to certify to said convention the number of votes for and against said choice of delegates.

WILLIAM GORHAM, president.

No. III.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONVENTION, HELD AT PORTLAND, SEPTEMBER 6, 1786.

At a convention of delegates from a number of towns and plantations, in the three counties of York, Cumberland, and Lincoln, held at Portland, on Wednesday, the 6th day of September, 1786 — for the purpose of considering the grievances which the inhabitants of said counties labour under, and adopting some orderly and peaceable measure to obtain relief — Hon. William Gorham, esq. being first chosen president, and Mr. Stephen Longfellow, jun. clerk.

Voted, that the following address, and form of a petition therein referred to, be transmitted to the several towns and plantations in the said three counties, as soon as may be.

Friends and Brethren,

AGREEABLY to the duties of our appointment, we have taken into serious consideration the grievances that the inhabitants of these three counties labour under; — and, after a close attention to this important subject, are clearly of opinion, that they cannot be remedied in their present connexion with the other part of the commonwealth. Our local situation, the nature of our commerce, and the jarring of our interests, render it necessary, in order to an effectual removal of them, that we should be erected into an independent state.

The expediency of this measure has engaged the attention of the publick for a long time — it has been considered, as it undoubtedly ought to be, a subject of the greatest importance.

Two

Two conventions have had it before them, and have carefully attended to the arguments which have been offered on both sides of the question.

We now communicate to you the result of our present deliberation; and we submit it to your wise and prudent consideration.

You feel yourselves distressed, and your distresses will encrease until you legislate for yourselves.——In this there is no great difficulty. Government is a very simple, easy thing. Mysteries in politicks are mere absurdities — invented entirely to gratify the ambition of princes and designing men — to aggrandize those who govern, at the expense of those who are governed.

But the end of government is the good of the people — the only design of its institution is to secure them, as far as possible, the blessings of life: —We therefore, in justice to our constituents, to ourselves, to the good citizens of the three counties, and of the commonwealth at large, address you upon the subject; and transmit to you a form of a petition to the General Court, requesting them to relinquish all right of jurisdiction in this eastern territory; and to give their consent that the same may be formed into a separate state

And we do earnestly call upon every free citizen within the said counties, to take the same into his most serious consideration; and each one, for himself, give his vote for or against a separation.

And we also desire each town and plantation, within the said counties, to meet for the purpose; and transmit their doings to this convention at their adjournment.

Voted, that those towns and plantations that have not chosen, be desired to choose delegates to attend at, or send their votes to, this convention, at the adjournment; otherwise they will be considered as acquiescing in the doings of their brethren.——It is earnestly recommended to the selectmen of towns, and committees of plantations, to notify publick meetings for the purpose; — and to the clerks of the several towns and plantations, that they be particular in making returns of the number of voters, for and against a separation.

FORM

FORM *of the* PETITION.

To the honourable Senate and House of Representatives of the commonwealth of Massachusetts, in Gen. Court assembled.

THE petition of the inhabitants of the towns and plantations of the counties of York, Cumberland, and Lincoln, by their delegates, met in convention, at Portland, the day of humbly sheweth — That the inhabitants of said counties, previous to the late revolution, considered themselves a part of the government of Massachusetts; and, at the formation of the present constitution, they either approved of, or submitted to, the same, and have cheerfully joined in support of government, and have paid due obedience to the laws thereof; and at the present time they feel, most sensibly, the difficulties in common to the various parts of the commonwealth, and are ready to exert themselves, to the utmost of their power, to remove them, by paying their taxes, and supporting good order, and the laws of the government; but when they take a view of the political disadvantages they labor under, peculiar to their local situation, being separate from the other part of the government by the intervention of another state, as well as their great distance from the seat of government, they look upon it a duty they owe themselves and their brethren in the other part of the state, and to the United States in general, in a peaceful and dutiful manner, and agreeably to the constitution, to lay them before the honourable Court, and request that they would relinquish all right of jurisdiction over said counties, and consent that they may be formed into a separate government, as they apprehend this the only adequate remedy to the difficulties complained of.

And while they are taking this peaceful measure to obtain a redress of their great political evils, by asking for a separation from the other part of the commonwealth, they do not entertain an idea of throwing off the weight of the publick debt, at this time lying upon the government at large, or to prevent the other part of the commonwealth from having their just proportion of the unappropriated lands; but, like friends and brethren, most ardently wish to have all matters adjusted upon the broadest basis of equity and fair dealing.

Therefore your petitioners humbly pray, that your honours would take their circumstances into your wise consideration, and adopt such measures as you in your wisdom may think fit; and they, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

A

A Letter from Rev. Levi Whitman, containing an Account of the Creeks and Islands in Wellfleet, and Observations on the importance of Cape-Cod Harbour.

Dear Sir,

AGREEABLE to your request, I present you with the names of the several creeks in Wellfleet harbour, together with some further observations concerning Cape-Cod, and a bill of mortality for the last year. The south creek, near to Eastham, is called Silver Springs, from a spring of that name near it, which has a white sand at the bottom, resembling that metal. Advancing further north, is Blackfish creek, the head of which was formerly a fresh pond. A way was cut from it to the main creek, for the purpose of erecting a fulling-mill, which in time went to decay, and the tide has worn a passage for vessels of sixty or seventy tons. The third is Duck creek, which makes its way between two large hills, in the centre of the township, nearly up to the meeting-house. The north hill is called Milton's hill; and the fourth, Indian neck. From this, westerly, at the head of the bay, is good anchorage and landing, to a large creek called the Herring river, which meanders through the salt marshes for several miles, near some fresh ponds. Billinsgate point is now become an island, it having been cut off by a ditch many years since; and being constantly washed by the tide, there is now a passage for small, light vessels to pass upon the full sea. In moving further north, you meet, first, with Beach hill: then with one much larger, called Great island, which is separated by flats (over which the tide passes some times) from Griffin's island, on which there are eleven dwelling-houses. Passing this, you come to Bound-Brook island, which is separated from Griffin's island in the same manner. On this island there is a windmill and ten dwelling-houses. This makes the high land south-east from Cape-Cod harbour. Nearly in the centre of the marshes, and between the two islands last mentioned, is Myrick island, covered with small oak wood. These three last mentioned islands are made only by creeks and marshes, which are covered with water in high tides.

In addition to what I have already observed, I would in-

form you, that it is suspected, by many amongst us, that the importance of Cape-Cod harbour, one of the best and safest ship harbours in the commonwealth, is not sufficiently known, and has not been properly attended to; at least it is supposed that there has not been so much care taken to give strangers information how it may be entered, as might have been done. That mountain of clay, in Truro, seems to have been erected in the midst of sand hills, by the God of nature, on purpose for the foundation of a light-house; which, if it could be obtained in time, no doubt would save millions of property, and thousands of lives. Why then should not that dark chasm, between Nantucket and Cape-Ann, be illuminated? Should there be a light-house erected on this high mountain, it would be discovered immediately after leaving Nantucket light, and would be a safe guide round the Cape into the harbour, or give safe directions for going into any other port within the great bay of Massachusetts. Was there a light upon this high hill, and sufficient information given, strangers might know when they were nearly north of it by sounding, except when very near the shore of Truro, and near Jefferie's bank, where there is a bank and sand bottom from nine to thirty fathom water, which by some is called the Shoal ground of the cape; by others the Middle bank. I have been informed by seamen, that immediately after passing this bank, the water is deep, and the bottom muddy. There are no shoals very near the shore, except it be what are called Peeked-hill bars, near Province-town, which reach off nearly three quarters of a mile, and from which, at low water, vessels are in danger. After passing these bars round Race point, (on which, three miles from the town, there are nearly twenty fishing huts, which answer not only the purposes for which they were built, but also the same as those built by the Humane Society for the benefit of unfortunate seamen) the water is deep near the shore. Between the Race, and a point of land jutting out south into the sea, is what is called the Herring cove, in which vessels of the largest size may lie safely, when the wind is easterly. The land which I have just mentioned is called Wood end. The back of this land, towards the Herring cove, has shoal ground, which reaches off some small distance; and so has Long point, a bar of sand which runs east from Wood end, and forms Cape-Cod harbour.

The

The excellence of this harbour consists in these particulars: in it there are no rocks; and it opening to the south, and lying as it does, there is very rarely in the most severe season, any ice in it, to prevent vessels from going safely in, even when the other harbours in Massachusetts bay are frozen up.

If no others should be engaged in this cause of humanity, it is concluded that the Humane Society will, from a desire of increasing the good for which they were incorporated, urge those whom it may concern to erect a building on the Clay Pounds, for the purpose of directing strangers and people in distress where relief and comfort may be had; or, at least, it is wished that through their means, a committee, or some suitable person, may be appointed to inquire into the matter. These are the wishes of many of your friends in these parts, besides him who is, &c.

LEVI WHITMAN.

Rev. JAMES FREEMAN.

Wellfleet, October 26, 1794.

A BILL OF MORTALITY IN WELLFLEET, FROM OCTOBER 26, 1793, TO OCTOBER 26, 1794.

		Ages.	
October,	Male	23	*Fever.
	Male	41	*Drowned.
November,	Child	4	Consumption.
	Female	14	Consumption.
	Male	75	Fever.
December,	Female	40	Apoplexy.
	Male	23	*Fever.
January,	Female	77	Consumption.
	Male	75	Consumption.
February,	Male	22	*Fever.
March,	Male	38	*Fever.
April,	Male	69	Paralytick.
May,	Female	75	Dysentery.
July,	Male	28	Consumption.
	Infant		
August,	Male	28	*Fever.
	Male	25	*Fever.
September,	Infant		Sore mouth.

The

The sum total 18, which, added to bills for nine preceding years, makes 163 in ten years. Infants and persons dying from home are distinguished as in former bills * for this town. Baptisms in the year past 39, which, added to the former bills in nine years, amount to 433 in ten years.

See Vol. III, page 121.

An Account of an uncommon Frost in the Night following the 17th of May, 1794.

Rev. Sir,

A considerable period having elapsed, and some of the observations upon the effects of the frost, to which I referred when in conversation with you, having been lost, it is not in my power to furnish so particular an account as I intended. If the following shall afford you any satisfaction, it will make me happy.

The degrees of cold, as marked on Fahrenheit's thermometer, the seventeenth of May, also the evening and morning following, were as follows.

At eight of the clock in the morning of the seventeenth, the mercury stood at 53°. At one o'clock, at 58°. At sunset, at 46°. At ten o'clock, at 37°. At eight in the morning of the eighteenth, an 46°. The night between the seventeenth and eighteenth was that in which the frost happened.

The following are some of the effects, which were produced by the frost.

Our fruit trees of every description were scarcely ever known to be more covered with blossoms, and to exhibit a more flattering prospect. On the succeeding morning, the blossoms and leaves of the trees were almost universally killed. So far as I can discover, there are not more than four or five orchards in the town, from which any cider has been made, and from these but in very small quantities, Nut trees and others were in a similar condition. It is particularly discovered, that some small walnut trees were entirely killed. The growth of others received a temporary check.

Fields of grass, particularly those which bear clover, were so thoroughly chilled, as, upon the return of the sun, to wither and decay. The grass, in most places, again sprang up, and has afforded a sufficiency of hay to supply the necessities of the inhabitants. None

None of the fruits of the earth were more essentially injured than the grain. Corn, which had sprouted, had began to show itself, was frozen and destroyed. The winter grain (as it is styled) appeared, previously to this, very flourishing. Such was the severity of the chill, that the fields, with but few exceptions, were so injured, as immediately to exhibit a yellow cast, and to die. This, however, in consequence of refreshing and plentiful rains, again sprouted, and the husbandmen encouraged themselves with the hope of receiving a compensation for their labours. But the succeeding cold weather occasioned a blast, which was nearly universal; and it is now abundantly proved, that there will not be sufficient collected to furnish seed for the ground.

The frost, happening at so early a period, was no disadvantage to the summer grain, the oats, &c. I believe myself quite safe in observing, that all vegetables in gardens, in the lower parts of the town, were destroyed.

One evidence of the very great intenseness of the cold has been given me by an aged person, a recital of which may possibly gratify you. It has been his constant practice, to leave the houseleek, a plant you have undoubtedly seen, in his garden through the winter. No injury has heretofore resulted from this. Upon examining it, after the above mentioned frost, a considerable part of it was chilled, and is since dead. This may partly be accounted for from the cold, affecting it gradually in the former case, but is, notwithstanding, one proof of the uncommonness of the chill.

Another person has furnished me with the following account. About sunrise, he examined a pail of water, which had stood at the north part of the house, through the night, and found the ice about half an inch thick. He separated it from the water, and looked again in thirty minutes, it was covered with ice. This he removed, and after an equal space of time, the water was found considerably chilled.

These are some of the disagreeable consequences of this untimely frost. I am sorry the account cannot be more perfect. Our situation being low, we were consequently more exposed, and more injured than most of our neighbors.

I am, sir, with esteem and respect, your friend and obedient servant, NATHANIEL THAYER.

Rev. Dr. BELKNAP.

Lancaster, Nov. 8, 1794.

A Description of Marlborough, in the County of Middlesex. By Rev. Asa Packard.

Sir,

In compliance with the request contained in your circular letter, every subject it embraces has had my best attention. My first enquiries after the antiquities of this town brought to view the following circumstance, which must be an apology for so barren a return. The original records of the town being greatly defaced, parts of them being nearly obliterated, a committee was chosen to transcribe what they supposed might be of importance in future. That partial copy is what remains. Ancient records of ecclesiastical matters, if there were such, were not so much respected. Nothing has come to my knowledge, relating to the church, of so early a date as 1700, when a church must have been organized nearly or quite forty years. The key of our antiquities being thus lost by negligence, I present the few historical facts I have been able to collect.

A tract of land six miles square (old measure) was granted to certain petitioners, inhabitants of Sudbury, in 1656, which was incorporated by the name of Marlborough, May 31, 1660, Its Indian name was Okommakamesit. The last distinguished leader of the tribe, which resided here, was Onomog. By the reasons assigned in the petition for the land, it appears that the English settlement was begun about 1654. Those adventurers was severely checked in their growth and prosperity, as an infant town, by the invasion of the savages. On the sabbath, when Mr. Brimsmead, was in sermon, March 20, 1676, the worshipping assembly was suddenly dispersed by an out-cry of "Indians at the door." The confusion of the first moment was instantly increased by a fire from the enemy; but the God whom they were worshipping shielded their lives and their limbs, excepting the arm of one Moses Newton, who was carrying an elderly and infirm woman to a place of safety. In a few minutes they were sheltered in their fort, with the mutual feelings peculiar to such a scene. Their meeting-house, and many dwelling houses, left without protection, were burned. Fruit-trees, pilled and backed, and other valuable effects rendered useless, perpetuated the barbarity of savages, many years after the inhabitants returned. The enemy retired soon after their first onset, declining

declining to risk the enterprize and marshal prowess of the young plantation. The new settlers, being much debilitated by their various losses, being a frontier town, and still exposed to the "adjudication" of their savage neighbors, left their farms till the seat of war was further removed. This town originally belonged to Massachusetts.

DIVISIONS AND ALTERATIONS.] Westborough (which originally included Northborough, taking its name from its local situation relative to its parent town) was taken from Marlborough, and incorporated Nov. 18, 1717. Southborough, a branch of the same stock, and deriving its name from a similar source, was incorporated July 6, 1727. There have been no other alterations worthy of notice.

MINISTERIAL MATTERS.] When a church was first gathered here, I cannot learn. Mr. William Brimsmead was minister to this religious society September 20, 1660. He was educated at Cambridge, Massachusetts, but never had a degree; several of his class, equally disgusted with him at a vote of the corporation, that four years residence at College should precede a degree, took up their connexions, because, at the time of their admission, three years residence entitles students to that honour. Whether he was ordained here is disputed. Mrs. Parkman of Westborough, daughter to Mr. Breck, who was settled a few years only after the death of Mr. Brimsmead, thinks he was not; but that he administered the sacraments is acknowledged, for he was in office about forty years. The baptismal covenant, now used in this, and several neighbouring churches, is called, by elderly people, the Brimsmead covenant; and he uniformly refused baptism, tradition says, to children born on the sabbath, implying that he administered it to those born of parents in covenant on other days. He was never married. Where or how he lived is unknown to the descendants of his charge; and nearly all that perpetuates his memory is an unlettered stone. He died July 3, 1701.

The reverend and eminent Robert Breck was ordained October 24, 1707; died January 6, 1731, aged forty-nine.

The reverend Benjamin Kent was ordained October 27, 1733, and dismissed February 4, 1735.

The reverend Aaron Smith was ordained June 11, 1740, and dismissed by reason of bodily indisposition, April 29, 1778.

The revered Asa Packard was ordained March 23, 1785.

TOPOGRAPHY,

Topography, &c.] The selectmen are about to forward a topographical description of this town, its waters, &c. (which will probably be as accurate as any that I could present) to the secretary of the commonwealth. I will therefore only observe, in general, that near the publick road, in the westerly part of the town, in a circular pond, about half a mile in diameter, which has no visible supply of water, but at rainy seasons of the year. Out of it flows a stream, sufficient to carry a well constructed corn mill twelve hours in a day, at the driest season. In the soil of the town nothing is remarkable but its natural excellence. Very little of what is called good land lies level, but is intersected, in various directions, by hills, declivities, and vallies. Our high lands are more springy, more moist, and less exposed to drought than the intervals below them, and often retain their verdure in dry seasons, when the vallies are parched.

Pigments.] Of these we have nothing to boast from the partiality of nature; and whether we can plume ourselves on enterprise, you, sir, will best determine. A poor man* in my neighbourhood, of real genius, and peculiarly fond of novelties, must furnish a few lines to the *Historical Society*. He conceived a lurch for improvement in manufacturing spanish brown. Having procured a quantity of earth, or loam, of no very singular quality, as I judged by its appearance — (it resembled bed-ore, though not impregnated with particles of iron†) — he laid it on a flat rock, and covered it with a liberal pile of dry wood. Frequently feeding his fire, and very carefully eyeing the process, he was convinced, in a few hours, that he had discovered the outlines of his object. Encouraged by this experiment, he constructed an air furnace, the cost of which was quite trivial, as appears by the building itself. In this half-formed affair, which admits not only of being finished, but of several improvements upon its plan, he calcined and prepared for the mill a ton in twenty four hours, six days in succession, without great expense of wood. A single man broke ground, and collected several tons of this loam in a day.

These circumstances, compared with the current price of that article, must, sir, I think, answer two questions, interesting to our country, viz. whether the price of it may not be reduced, and whether a little attention and encouragement would

* Isaac Sherman.
† This circumstance deserves a more particular inquiry.

would not enable us to export it. Connossieurs in paints acknowledge it is good. His first attempts in making spruce yellow, were flattering; and I doubt not, a man of property, genius, and application, might receive important hints of this person, and find a ready, lucrative account in this branch of manufacture.

Cultivation of the soil.] In this, sir, we are making rapid improvements. I need only say, our own writers on husbandry have been circulated among the farmers, and our fields pay a silent, but annual and liberal tribute to those benefactors of their country. It appears to me that our landholders in general cultivate too much soil. With their present strength of labourers, a smaller spot, in a higher state of cultivation, would be more profitable. It is a prevailing errour to overstock both barns and pastures; in consequence of which, much of our grass land produces less than two, and some that has been wholly devoted to feed, less than one third of what it did thirty and forty years ago; while those lots which have been managed more judiciously, produce as freely as in former years.

Education.] Our modes of it are as usual in the country; and possibly you may think, sir, that the following suggestion offers some improvement upon this leading interest of society; and all grant, that a small advantage to the shoot may become important to the tree. School-houses in the country being principally improved in winter, would they not be more covenient and accommodating at that, and not less so at other seasons, if, instead of the usual area, the whole floor be covered with seats, leaving a small vacancy around the hearth, and leaving alleys, at proper distances, for the master to pass and inspect his scholars sitting? Less exposed to confusion, disorder, and partiality, would they not find the same fire more effectual in warming the room?

In this town, education is honourably encouraged. Nearly half the year we have several schools open, besides those required by law. In addition to which, a very decent and convenient house, built for that purpose by certain proprietors, is generally improved, and found greatly beneficial to them.

Library.] There is a social library in this town, consisting of one hundred and eighty well-chosen volumes, which cost sixty-five pounds; and many of the youth im-

prove it with a degree of diligence and discretion, which promises respectability to them, and useful members to society.

BILL OF MORTALITY.] Here, sir, I have to regret the ordinary omission of those who have accurate lists of births and deaths, in not minuting the sex. Many children are not named in the town records; others live but few days; the person who notes the birth and death perhaps lives in a distant part of the town, and must frequently inquire several times to learn the sex, which task is generally declined. The diseases of which persons die, are much more difficult to ascertain; for physicians differ in opinion as well as divines. By this circumstance alone, having made the attempt some years ago, I soon found myself necessitated to relinquish it.

Since the beginning of the year 1760 to Jan. 1, 1795, seven hundred and twenty-six inhabitants of this town have died, and in the same period one thousand six hundred and seventy-two have been born. The increase of population must have been much greater, had not many young and growing families preferred a settlement on new lands, where the surveyor deals in round numbers, and counts not the links of his chain.

If this, sir, should encourage the growth of one branch in your promising "forest," I shall be gratified; and if not being my best, it evinces my readiness to contribute such as I have, to so laudable an institution as the Historical Society; and that,

With much respectful esteem, I am, sir, affectionately yours,

ASA PACKARD.

JEREMY BELKNAP, D D. Boston,
Corresponding Secretary of the
Massachusetts Historical Society.

Marlborough, Jan. 3, 1795.

A LETTER FROM REV. GIDEON HAWLEY OF MARSHPEE, CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF HIS SERVICES AMONG THE INDIANS OF MASSACHUSETTS AND NEW-YORK, AND A NARRATIVE OF HIS JOURNEY TO ONOHOGHGWAGE.

July 31, 1794.

IT is forty years, this day, since I was ordained a missionary to the Indians, in the Old South meeting-house, when the Rev. Dr. Sewall preached on the occasion, and the Rev. Mr. Prince gave the charge. I

I had been in the service from Feb. 5, O. S., 1752, and by an ecclesiastical council convened for that purpose, was now solemnly set apart to the work of an evangelist among the western Indians. The Rev. Mr. Foxcroft and Dr. Chauncy assisted upon the occasion, and Mr. Appleton of Cambridge, with many delegates from their respective churches.

I entered upon this arduous business at Stockbridge under the patronage of the Rev. Mr. Edwards. Was instructer of a few families of Iroquois, who came down from their country for the sake of christian knowledge and the schooling of their children. These families consisted of Mohawks, Oneidas and Tuscaroras, from Kanajoharry, and Onohoghgwage. I was their school-master, and preached to them on the Lord's-day. Mr. Edwards visited my school, catechised my scholars, and frequently delivered a discourse to their parents. To Indians he was a very plain and practical preacher: upon no occasion did he display any metaphysical knowledge in the pulpit. His sentences were concise, and full of meaning; and his delivery, grave and natural. In the winter, Indians are at home, and my school was well attended: But many, who wintered at Stockbridge, in the Spring and Summer went off, and were about Schoharry, beyond Albany. In the month of September, I therefore made an excursion into the Mohawk country. I had never been at Albany, nor even as far as Kinderhook, till now; and was ignorant of the way which led through a wilderness.

I therefore wanted a guide, and took with me a young Canada Indian, who had attended my school. He had been bred a Roman Catholick; could repeat the Lord's-prayer in Latin, and Ave Maria; could read and write. He furnished me with an alphabet for his language, which was of use to me. He was of the Cagnawauga tribe.

He was my company, and *only* he. Two years afterwards, some of the Canada Indians came, and not improbably this fellow might be of the party, who fell upon a family at Stockbridge, on the Lord's-day, and murdered and captured several of its inhabitants. But it was now peace, and I had no apprehensions when travelling *alone* with him, a whole day, through a solitary wilderness.

Near night we arrived at the out houses in Kinderhook. Here we came across a number of the Stockbridge tribe, encamped by a river. My Indian could no longer refrain: He

He was determined to debauch. He wished to get drunk, and associate with a courtezan ; but he knew the consequence would be the loss of his ornaments, in case he did not secure them. He therefore came to me, and taking off his wampum, silver trinkets, bracelets, &c. deposited them. It was in vain that I remonstrated . He would have a frolick. I therefore, but with apparent reluctance, took charge of his goods, and secured them in my bags.

In the morning, looking very pensive, he came to my lodgings, and complained that he had been robbed. He had lost his *best* blanket, and wished me to recover it. I went with him, and he pointed to a young female, who had the blanket, and who, upon my requisition, delivered it to him, looking very sheepish.

He then wished me to resign the deposite of wampum, which the evening before he had committed to me. I declined it ; and expostulated, and insisted upon his going with me to Albany ; using arguments and making him offers. He was silent. I set out and he followed me. I got into the woods and he after me. Prudence dictated, that it was best to restore him his trinkets, although he discovered not any symptoms of ill-nature. Having received them, he returned to the above party, and I never heard of him after. I relate this affair, because it is characteristic of his nation, and all Indians or savages. I knew not the way to Albany ; and the path I had taken was obscure, and unfrequented by white people. I came to an Indian village ; took some directions, but lost my way. I wandered in blind paths till I found a few white inhabitants in huts, who had lately made settlements, but being ignorant of the English language, could give me but poor information. To be short, I finally got into the great road, I knew not how, but not until I had been out in a most terrible storm of thunder and lightning. Thunder tempests are very frequent in the interiour parts of the country ; and I have often met with them since in the wilderness, and sometimes when alone. It cleared off, and I travelled ; and all at once, through an opening, appeared to view the city of Albany ; and I soon discovered a fleet of vessels by its side, on the adjacent river. Great was my satisfaction. I came down and crossed the ferry ; went into the city, and passed it ; came to the houses between Albany and Skenectady, and lodged. These were only two houses, kept

kept for the entertainment of passengers. They were alone, but did not harmonize. Three houses will agree; but two in a wilderness will be considered as rivals; and their interests will clash. Such is human nature, that power and interests must be balanced by a third person or interest.

Between Albany and Skenectady is barren land; but it is strange that only two houses had been at that time erected, on a road so much frequented, and for so many years together.

Soon after I left these houses, the road parts. That to the right, leads to Skenectady; and on the other, a road to Schoharry,* where I arrived in the afternoon; and soon found the Indians, and particular Jonah, whose Indian name is T'hànhanagwanàgeas, which is long, but of no extraordinary meaning. This was a very christian-like Indian, and his wife a good woman, who soon got me some refreshment. His mother was a very old person, and of French extract, and full blooded, being captured from Canada when very young. Jonah, therefore, was half blood. I never saw him the worse for strong drink. He was a man of prayer. I had much acquaintance with him after this, as I had considerable the winter passed, when he was at Stockbridge with his family. His wife was of the Tuscarora tribe. Jonah and some other families were about coming again to Stockbridge, there to winter. Some others, whom I saw, were going to Onohoghgwàge, where they belonged. I left Jonah, and went further down, about six miles, and found, at the Mohawk village, Sharrack, Peter, and others, who the summer passed had been gathering, with their wives and children, the genseng root for the European market; it having the last year answered for the exporter, beyond all expectation. But this year, as the event proved, many adventurers or speculators in it were nearly ruined; but the Indians employed in gathering it, got considerable by it, having collected in it great quantities. The Indian name for this root is Kalondaggough. I lodged in the vicinity of these Indians, and visited them in the morning; gave their children a few trifles that were acceptable, invited them to Stockbridge, and set out upon my return, and came to the two houses between Albany and Skenectady, where I again lodged.

In regard to Schoharry, it is fine land, and settled by Palatines,

* Hunter's field, after Governour Hunter.

latines, brought over, at the expense of the nation, in Queen Anne's reign. It is watered by a stream, which tends to the southward, not far from the source of Delaware, which takes an opposite direction. Here are three decent meeting-houses, and two domines: The one a Calvinian; and the other, a Lutheran. The language of this people is German or High Dutch, and they are husbandmen. The Albanians and people of Skenectady were Hollanders, and employed in trade; and very few were farmers. For the sake of the Indian trade, which is very lucrative, they have explored the great lakes, and penetrated into the bowels of the wilderness. The Indians from Canada, with their skins and furs, came to Albany in time of peace. I have seen numbers of them there at a time.

There was a missionary to the Mohawks from the society in London; but he resided, as he was considered as chaplain to the fort, in Albany; very little of his time with his Indians; and therefore could do them less good than a constant resident among them. I was solicited once, by a clergyman of that city, to tarry a while in town, saying, "in case I went and baptized the children, I might return and spend the season agreeably at Albany." The Rev. Mr. Barclay, who was now a missionary in the city of New-York, it was said, had been a faithful and zealous instructer of the Indians; but his situation, as I was informed, was made uncomfortable by his neighbours; and his support being scanty, he left them; and Mr. Oglevie was his successor, and now in office. This gentleman had many amiable qualities; but he finally removed to New-York, and succeeded Dr. Barclay also at that place.

But to return to my narrative. Having been upon this excursion, which I made at my own expense, I returned and opened my school. At a proper time the Indians and their children collected at Stockbridge. Jonah came with his party; and others, from the Mohawk river, where I had a considerable number about me. I now took lodging at a building called the boarding school, and furnished a chamber in it. For the sake of being conversant with my pupils and their parents, I adopted this self-denying mode of life, being determined to acquaint myself with their language and manners, that I might better serve the interests of my mission. This building, in a way unknown, took fire, and was reduced

to

to ashes* with considerable furniture. By this calamity I lost my bed, clothing, books, and many valuable articles of furniture, for which I was never in the least compensated. There were many persons who supposed, with some grounds, that this house was set on fire by design. Those who were concerned in Indian affairs, were in violent parties. Mr. Edwards, Deacon Woodbridge, and myself, were supported out of the same funds, and directed by the same company: we therefore harmonized. The Hon. Joseph Dwight, esq. was at the head of another considerable party, supported by the government. This gentleman married Mrs. Sergeant, the widow of the late Rev. Mr. Sergeant, the former missionary; and had very considerable influence on that and other accounts. He was liberally educated; had been speaker of the house, a counsellor, and the head of a regiment in taking Cape-Breton. There was a third party, supported by Mr. Hollis, in England. Is it not strange that they could not all agree in every mode of carrying on this business; but very unhappy for the Indians and the town, that they should disagree as they did. Deacon Woodbridge was a popular character, and he governed the town, held its offices, and managed the Indians as he pleased. Mr. Dwight opposed him. In short, these partizans in Indian business prejudiced many sober persons against the whole affair by their misconduct; and they wished to get rid of the Indians of every description, and remove them from town and country, as they finally did. This spirit being so prevalent, induced Mr. Edwards to remove to Princeton in New Jersey; which, I am persuaded, he would not have done, had he been quiet and comfortable in his mission. And this animosity continuing after Mr. West, his successor's settlement, he also finally resigned his mission, and would have no concern with the Indians. And a worthy young man, the present Mr. Sergeant, undertook the affair; but notwithstanding all he could do, they ousted him and his Indians, and drove them off, as I may say, to Oneida, agreeable to a plan, which was twenty years in ripening. This is not generally known. This spirit of dissention, however, was the means of my carrying the gospel into the Indian country. I was desirous of planting christianity at a distance from any white people, and where the Indians were not in so much danger of having their minds poisoned by them. However

* In the month of February, 1753.

However, I found it very difficult to get beyond its influence, and I have considered it as very strange, that nothing could be undertaken for the Indian interest, that did not meet with opposition, and many times from a quarter where we did not look for it. I have always met with great difficulties in my way, as have all my fellow labourers. It is not considered by the whites, adjacent to Indian plantations, for their interest, that this people should be knowing, wise, or good.

Mr. Woodbridge, (whose party was not suspected as having any hand in burning the boarding school) was at the General Court in Boston, at the time when the house was consumed; and he made application to the Board of commissioners, as I was yet at Stockbridge, that I should be applied to, to take a mission to the Indians in the interiour parts of the country. And when he returned from court, he brought letters to me which desired me to go to Boston, which I did in the month of April, to consult upon measures with the commisssioners for carrying into effect a new mission to the westward of Albany.

In the year 1748, this Board had sent upon the same mission Mr. Elihu Spencer,* who could not surmount the obstacles he met with. But these Indians having, sundry of them, particularly Jonah, Sharrack, and some others, by coming to Stockbridge, manifested a thirst for christian knowledge, the commissioners were encouraged to make another attempt to carry the gospel to them: they did all they could to encourage it. Money was not wanting in their treasury; and the company in London were able to answer their bills, when more was called for, and were ready to do it.

It was agreed that Deacon Woodbridge,† being a man long acquainted with the business, and a gentleman of abilities, should accompany me into their country, and introduce me to the Indians, with whose manners and language I had gained some acquaintance, and had been acceptable in my school, &c. It was also agreed that Mrs. Ashley should be our interpreter; and that Benjamin Ashley, her husband, should be employed, and have a salary. This could not be avoided, if we had his wife; but he was a fanatick, and on that

* Rev. Dr. Spencer finally settled at Elizabeth town in New-Jersey, as president Dickinson's successor.

† I may not have another opportunity to observe concerning this gentleman, that he was always poor, and had a powerful party against him; but he rose to be the first man in the county of Berkshire, was always esteemed for his sense; but had few who wished to promote him. For many years he was at the Council board, and sustained his station with reputation.

that account unfit to be employed in the mission. His wife was a very good sort of woman, and an extraordinary interpreter in the Iroquois language. She was captured at Deerfield, when that town was destroyed, in 1703, and carried to Cagnawauga, when she was about three years old. Her two brothers, Martin and Joseph Kellogg, well known in their day, were both older than their sister, and were taken at the same time. The two boys got away before their sister, who resided in Canada among the Cagnawaugas until she was a maiden grown. Her brothers, however, lived there long enough to be good interpreters, particularly Joseph Kellogg, esq. who was the best in his day, that New-England had, and was employed upon every occasion. For many years he was at Fort Dummer, on Connecticut river, near Number Four: was at the Albany treaty in the year 1754, which was attended by a greater number of respectable personages from the several provinces and colonies than had met upon any similar occasion. And in the year 1756, being pursuaded by General Shirley to accompany him in his way to Oswego, as an interpreter, which he undertook with a broken state of health, he sickened and died; and was buried at Skenectady.

Martin, well known by the name of Captain Kellogg, was a very remarkable man for his courage and bodily strength. He was several times captured and carried to Canada. Many stories were related of his feats and exploits in early life. He was employed by Mr. Sergeant in Mr. Hollis's school, and his labours were acceptable, as far as I know. He lived at Newington, near Farmington, in Connecticut, where I suppose, he died about the year 1758, Rebecca, my interpreter, laid her bones at Onohoghgwàge in August, 1757, when I was at Marshpee. She was much lamented by the Indians. Her Indian name was Wausaunia.

Having returned from Boston, with a written recommendation from the governour, to which was affixed the great seal of the province, and with other credentials and private letters from particular gentlemen, it was only necessary for us to prepare for our mission, which we did without delay. But it was on Tuesday, May 22d, when Mr. Woodbridge, myself and company set out from Stockbridge for the Indian country. Our departure upon so great an errand as the planting christianity in the wilderness, about an hundred miles be-

yond any settlement of christian people, drew the attention of the whole town. And the Rev. Mr. Edwards, his wife, and others, accompanied us a considerable distance into the woods, toward Kinderhook. They returned, after taking leave of us in the most affectionate manner, and we pursued our way, having only an Indian track. We arrived at the first house, and put up for the night; and the next day came to Albany, where we tarried two nights, making acquaintances, and collecting some necessaries for our journey. We found friends, but the people in general did not much favour our undertaking. Trade with the savages was their support. This city is very compact. In time of war it is always picketed; and in the many expeditions against Canada, it has been the rendezvous of soldiers. It is considered as the head of navigation; although with small craft the river is navigable to the Half Moon, nine miles above it. The land on the back of the town is poor, but the intervals, up and down the river, are fertile; and there are some very considerable and valuable islands not far from the city.

On Friday we left Albany. Mr. Woodbridge and I set out for mount Johnson, about thirty-six miles off, on Mohawk river, to pay our compliments to Colonel Johnson, and obtain his countenance in favour of our mission. At noon we came to Skenectady, a town in some respects similar to Albany, but more pleasant. We crossed the ferry, and by a letter from Colonel Jacob Wendell of Boston, were introduced to his friend Major Glan, who hospitably received us. Having dined, we proceeded, and had a very pleasant ride up Mohawk river, on the north side. At sun-set we were politely received at Colonel Johnson's gate, by himself in person. Here we lodged. His mansion was stately, and situate a little distance from the river, on rising ground, and adjacent to a stream which turned his mill. This gentleman was well known in his civil, military, and private character. He was the first civil character in the county of Albany at that day; and after this, by means of the war, which commenced in 1755, and his connexion with the Indians, of whom he was appointed the sole superintendant for that part of the continent, he arose to great eminence. In 1756, he was made a baronet. It was favourable to our mission to have his patronage, which I never lost. In the year 1765, I found him at another mansion, about eight miles

miles from this, and four from the river. This last was a very superb and elegant edifice, surrounded with little buildings for the accommodation of the Indians, when down upon treaties or conferences with him. Mr. Woodbridge and I took our leave of him in the morning, rode up to the ford, and crossed the river, and came over to the south side, and rode to what was called the Mohawk castle; near which was a stone chapel and a village of Indians, situated on Schoharry creek, not far from the place where it discharges its waters into the Mohawk.

We dined with the commandant of the garrison, which consisted of a sergeant and few privates, under Lieutenant Butler, who resided there with his family. We heard the western news, and that the French in great force had passed the Ontario lake, going, as it was conjectured, to the Ohio; where they erected the fort, which was called Duquesne, now Pittsburgh. Mr. Butler obtained for us an Indian guide, to conduct us across to Schoharry, about sixteen miles south, through a wilderness. We went up the creek. Our path was obscure and obstructed, and the travelling uncomfortable. We came to a resting place, and breathed our horses, and slaked our thirst at the stream, when we perceived our Indian looking for a stone, which having found, he cast to a heap, which for ages had been accumulating by passengers like him, who was our guide.

We inquired why he observed that rite. His answer was, that his father practised it, and enjoined it on him. But he did not like to talk on the subject.

I have observed in every part of the country, and among every tribe of Indians, and among those where I now am, in a particular manner, such heaps of stones or sticks collected on the like occasion as the above. The largest heap I ever observed, is that large collection of *small* stones on the mountain between Stockbridge and Great-Barrington. We have a sacrifice rock, as it is termed, between Plymouth and Sandwich, to which stones and sticks are always cast by Indians who pass it.

This custom or rite is an acknowledgment of an invisible being. We may style him the *unknown God*, whom this people worship. This heap is his altar. The stone that is collected is the oblation of the traveller, which, if offered with a good mind, may be as acceptable as a consecrated animal.

It

It was and is my business to declare his eternal power and Godhead, whom they acknowledged, but ignorantly worshipped; and to declare his Son, the appointed mediator and saviour, in his character, and unfold the truths of his gospel, which has brought life and immortality to light. But perhaps these heaps of stones may be erected only to a *local* deity, which most probably is the case. Mr. Woodbridge and I, with assiduity, pursued our way, one after the other, through bushes, and sloughs, water and mire, as our guide directed. And at dusk we arrived at the nearest houses between fort Hunter and Schoharry; but did not put up till we came to what was accounted a publick house, but very unfit for the entertainment of gentlemen strangers. It had only one room. In that room was what is called a flaw-bunk, with a straw bed, on which we lodged. This however was not the worst of it; for we had been contented with coarse fare and ill accommodations, in case we could have had quiet rest; but the unhappiness of our case was, that it was the end of the week; and to spend their wages, three or four old countrymen came in, and gamed and drank through the night, within a foot or two of our bed. We remonstrated and complained, but in vain. Having had broken rest through the week, we needed balmy sleep to refresh us, but of which we were denied.

Lord's-day, 27th. Having found our interpreter and company at the upper end of the town, we went and had a meeting at the Mohawk village, where I preached and prayed in the forenoon. In the afternoon, Mr. Woodbridge and I went to the Dutch meeting in that vicinity. Those who are in meeting behave devoutly in time of service. But without, they are at play. I have been at their meetings, when the boys through the service, and even at the celebration of the Lord's-supper, have been playing bat and ball the whole term around the house of God. Coming out of meeting, we observed the lower orders at all sorts of recreation. To us, who had been used to the strictness of a New-England sabbath, it appeared very profane. But custom will make any thing familiar.

Monday, 28th. To-day we were very busy in collecting stores and necessary for our journey, designing the next day to plunge into that immense wilderness that lies to the southward and westward of us, and inhabited only by savages.

We

We provided two sacks of flour, which we bought at very moderate rates, and hired a man and horse to carry it over land to the Susquehanna. Our company from Stockbridge was Mr. Woodbridge, Mr. Ashley and wife, and myself, and three or four blacks. Here we had volunteers, and particularly one fellow named Pallas, a vagrant Indian, whose, company we had reason to regret, but could not refuse upon our mission.

Tuesday, 29th. Having assembled our company, we ascend a steep mountain, directing our course almost west. Our way was generally obstructed by fallen trees, old logs, miry places, pointed rocks, and entangling roots, which were not to be avoided We were alternately on the ridge of a lofty mountain, and in the depths of a valley. At best, our path was obscure, and we needed guides to go before us. Our interpreter was on a single horse, which was very sure footed, but she needed every attention. She passed this wilderness for the last time. In the afternoon we came to rivulets which empty their waters into the Susquehanna, and the land becomes more level, and the travelling not so dangerous and difficult. Night approaches; we halt by one of these streams; a fire is kindled; the kettles are filled; we refresh ourselves; and we adore Divine Providence, returning thanks for the salvations of the day, and committing ourselves to God for the night, whose presence is equally in the recesses of the solitary wilderness, and the social walks of the populous city. With the starry heavens above me, and having the earth for my bed, I roll myself in a blanket; and without a dream to disturb my repose, pass the night in quiet, and never awake till the eye lids of the morning are opened, and the penetrating rays of the sun look through the surrounding foliage: when we arise refreshed, and again address that great and good being, whose constant visitation supports, cheers, and refreshes us; and invoke his protection, direction, and blessing. And this is our practice, extraordinaries excepted, through the journey, both in the morning and at evening. Our enterprise naturally inspired us with devotion; and the august and stupendous works of creation filled us with awe. We read God's name in capitals.

It may not be impertinent to observe, that in this wilderness, we neither hear nor see any birds of musick. These frequent only the abodes of man. There is *one wood* bird,

not

not often seen, but heard without any melody in his note, in every part of the wilderness, wherever I have been. In some parts of this extensive country, the wild pigeons breed in numbers almost infinite. I once passed an extensive valley where they had nested; and for six or eight miles, where the trees were near and thick, every tree had a number of nests upon it; and some, not less that fifteen or twenty upon them: But as soon as their young are able, they take wing, and are seen there on more.

Wednesday, 30th. Having met with nothing remarkable, we arrived at Towanoendàlough in the afernoon. Here were three wigwams, and about thirty souls. We were impatient to see the famous Susquehanna; and as soon as we can, Mr. Woodbridge and I walk down to its banks. Disappointed at the smallness of its stream, he exclaimed, "Is this Susquehanna?"

When we returned, our young Indians, who had halted, came in, looking as terrible and ugly as they could, having bedaubed their faces with vermilion, lampback, white lead, &c. A young Indian always carries with him his looking glass and paint; and does not consider himself as dressed, until he has adjusted his countenance by their assistance.

I visited from house to house, and found a child but just alive. I prayed with it; was desired to baptise it, but excused myself on account of my not being ordained. The Mohawks are fond of christening their children. The Indians on Mohawk river, I suppose, are all baptized. Some of them being at Stockbridge, at the birth of a child, were affronted, when the missionary there scrupled to baptize it. Indians are fond of rites and ceremonies.

The sick child died, and there were the most dolorous howlings among them at the event, which affected us.

Mr. Woodbridge and Mrs Ashley, our interpreter, could not travel any further by land: We therefore concluded to get a canoe and convey them by water. From this place to Onohoghgwàge, is three days' journey; and how bad the travelling is, we cannot tell.

May 31st. We met with difficulty about getting a canoe, and sent an Indian into the woods to get ready a bark, but he made small progress.

In the afternoon came from Otsego lake, which is the source of this stream, George Winedecker and another, in

in a small batteau, with goods and rum, going down to Onohoghgwàge upon a trading voyage. We agreed with them to carry the interpreter and Mr. Woodbridge in their batteau; and bought a wooden canoe to carry our flour and baggage.

We soon saw the ill effects of Winedecker's rum. The Indian's began to drink, and some of our party were the worse for it. We perceived what was coming.

Our lodging was not in their wigwams; but in a little store-house set up on crotches, six feet and more from the ground, into which Mr. Woodbridge, myself, the interpreter, and her husband, could but just enter and lie down. This night we went to sleep with some apprehensions. We were awoke by the howling of the Indians over their dead. The whole village was agitated. We arose very early in the morning. We soon saw the Indian women and their children skulking in the adjacent bushes, for fear of the intoxicated Indians, who were drinking deeper. The women were secreting guns, hatchets, and every deadly or dangerous weapon, that murder or harm might not be the consequence. Poor unhappy mortals! without law, religion, or government; and therefore without restraint.

June 1st, 1753, is with me a memorable day, and for forty years and more has not passed unnoticed. We got off as silently as we could, with ourselves and effects. Some went by water; and others by land, with the horses. I was with the land party. The Indians, half intoxicated, were outrageous, and pursued both the party by water, in which was Mr. Woodbridge, and the party by land. One came so near us as with his club to strike at us, and he hit one of our horses. We hastened. Neither party met till we arrived at Wauteghe, at which had been an Indian village, where were a few fruit trees and considerable cleared land, but no inhabitants. Here, being unmolested and secure, we all refreshed ourselves. But Pallas was the worse for his rum; was so refractory, that Mr. Ashley's hired man, who had been in the canoe with him, did not like to proceed with him. I reproved him; got into the canoe with him, to keep him in order; was young and unexperienced; knew not Indians, nor much of mankind; whereby I endangered my life.

We went with the stream, till we came to slack water, when Pallas took his gun, to aim at fowl ahead of us. I was apprehensive

apprehensive of his gun; for I perceived him to be in liquor. I took a paddle, and was turning the canoe, when the ducks rose, and took wing. The Indian was taking in his piece, which at that instant was discharged, and had in not been for the turn of my body, and particularly my head, the charge must have been mortal. Mr. Woodbridge, who had his eye upon me, looked to see me drop; and was surprised, when he saw me unhurt. I had no certainty, but always suspected that Pallas designed to have murdered me.

This unexpected event filled us with amazement, and with such feelings and affections, that we immediately landed on the west bank of the river; and passed the day in pensive and silent recollection, and such meditations as were natural to men in our situation. I retired from company. Here a small stream empties into the river, and our horses were turned out to graze upon its margin; but in the night three or four of them returned to Wauteghe, which is twelve miles back.

June 2d. Our Indians did not recover the horses till late in the morning; and to-day we fall down the river only six or eight miles, and lodge by the Kághncantàsis or whirlpool, because there was herbage for our horses at that place. Mr. Woodbridge made many observations concerning the consequences which would have followed, in case I had been killed.

Lord's-day, June 3d. To-day we embarked and proceeded down the river, and about noon passed a considerable village; some families of which were of the Houssautunnuk Indians, and of the same language with the Stockbridge tribe. But as it was the christian sabbath, we did not permit Winedecker to land. They stood on the bank and beheld us. Here we left Pallas. At this place, from the N. W. rolls into the Susquehanna a river, which is navigable with canoes a day's journey. Its name is Teyonadelhough. Five or six miles below, we landed on the west bank, and put up for the night.

June 4th. In the afternoon appeared at a distance Onohoghgwàge mountain, and shewed us the end of our journey and the object of our wishes. It rained. Wet and fatigued, we arrived near night. The Indians flocked around us, and made us welcome. Our hopes were raised by favourable appearances. But our accomodations, considering

sidering our fatigues, were not very comfortable. Our lodgings were bad, being both dirty and hard; and our clothes wet.

June 5th. To-day there were many the worse for the rum that came with us. One of our horses hurt an Indian boy; and this raised and enraged such a party against us, as Ashley, his wife the interpreter, and the Indians at whose house we lodged, hid themselves, and would have had me and Mr. Woodbridge get out of sight; but we did not think proper to discover the least symptoms of fear, although they threatened us in the most provoking and insulting manner. In the afternoon came chiefs of the Onohoghgwàges, and assured us that those insulting and ill-behaved Indians did not belong to them,* but were foreigners. We pointed out to them the ill effects of intemperance, and remonstrated against their permitting rum to be brought among them; and that it was necessary in future it should be prohibited, or the dispensing of it regulated, in case we founded a mission and planted christianity among them. In short, we now opened a treaty with them upon the affairs of our advent, and the importance of our business in every view. Having shewn our credentials, Mr. Woodbridge addressed himself in a well-adapted speech, of considerable length, to an assembly who were collected upon the occasion.

It affected them, and they appeared to be religiously moved, convicted, and even converted. But I must reserve a further account of our mission to another time, when I may copy our addresses, and the answers returned by the Indians thereunto. I am, &c.

GIDEON HAWLEY.

Rev. Dr. THACHER.

P. S. I may observe, that much has been done in this country for the Indians, and not without success. Many were converted on Martha's Vineyard, Nantucket, and in the counties of Barnstable and Plymouth. At the Vineyard, no less than three Indian churches were founded soon after Mr. Mayhew began to gospelize the Indians; and at this day there are a number of christian-like Indians, under the care of the Rev. Zachary Mayhew. At Nantucket were three meeting-houses, where Indians assembled for publick

 worship,

* This was partly the case.

worship, with Indian pastors; and a few Indians yet remain there; but they have no publick assembly of religious worship.

At Marshpee are between eighty and ninety Indian houses, if we reckon those who are in affinity with them. This blood is mixed; but the Indian blood prevails in a very considerable degree; and all this people value themselves on being christians, and some of them are an honour to their profession, although too many are not so. These are more civilized than any Indians in the commonwealth, but utterly unable to govern or protect themselves, being surrounded by white people, many of whom would defraud and oppress them without good men to defend them. I wish to be their friend. There are also at this day a few Indians at Portnumicut, Harwich, Yarmouth, and other places below Barnstable. And in several places within the limits of Sandwich, and particularly at Herring pond, are a considerable many. And in the southern parts of the town of Plymouth, in two or three vicinities, are Indians, who wish to be christians; and whenever they have any publick worship and instruction they are very attentive; and often solicit me to come and preach to them, but my age and infirmities do not permit me to visit them very often, and I find that I can do less and less. I am very confident, that those under the denomination of Indians, appertaining to Mr. Mayhew's and my pastoral care, are above a thousand souls. And they are not diminishing in numbers, and will rather increase, in case their lands are secured from alienation.

The present regulation of Marshpee has been the salvation of the Indian interest; and every year proves its utility to them.* But there has been scarcely a session of the General Court without petitions against it, supported by some able, but interested men.

There is now depending in the General Court a petition supported by an able attorney from this county, who has received an ample fee for that purpose; and I expect nothing but this landed interest, if possible, will be set afloat, as soon as one or two men are removed out of the way, who now stand in the gap.

There was a time, when even at this distance, I had considerable

* An Indian speculator, viz. Deacon L. Nye, has said, as I am well informed, that he would give an hundred dollars to overthrow it. He has spent money for it already.

siderable knowledge of Indian affairs in the western country, where I spent my early days ; but I have now no means of information. I am confident, from what I have known that there will be Indians in these parts, when there is not one in all the country of the Six Nations. There is nothing easier than to extirpate Indians, if the government is set upon it. I am yours, &c.

GIDEON HAWLEY.

QUERIES RESPECTING INDIANS.

(1) What is supposed to be the general amount of the population of the tribes with which you are acquainted ? (2) What number of warriors ? (3) What prosperous or unprosperous events have lately happened to them ? (4) Do they increase or diminish ? (5) What causes affect either event ? (6) What proportion of renegado whites are incorporated with them ? (7) What is the state of morals, industry, and opinions in those tribes ? (8) What is their predominant disposition with regard to the manners and civilization of the whites ? (9) What idea do reflecting persons form of the probable destiny of the scanty remnant of the red nations ?

ANSWER TO THE FOREGOING QUERIES, RESPECTING INDIANS.

(1) BY several months residence in their neighbourhood, three years ago, I became acquainted with the *Oneida Indians*, living in a number of villages, five and fifteen miles south of the Oneida Lake, in the state of New-York ; with the *Stockbridge Indians*, living six miles south of the most considerable Oneida village ; and with the *Brothertown Indians*, living eight miles south of the *Stockbridge* settlement. According to an estimate of their numbers made four years ago by Mr. Kirkland, the missionary, the amount of the Oneida population was about six hundred and fifty ; of the Stockbridge, two hundred and eighty ; and of the Brothertown, two hundred and fifty men, women, and children.

(2) Neither the name nor the character of warrior exist among the Brothertown Indians. Settled in an old and populous part of the state of Connecticut ; they have, during half a century, wanted both motive and opportunity to engage in war, and consequently their marshal spirit and skill have

have departed. The Stockbridge Indians have seldom used the name of late years; it was revived by their serving with the Americans in the last war; and, I believe, their number of warriors is about forty. The Oneidas, though much tamed by a general state of peace and an intercourse with whites, retain some ambition to be thought warlike, take pains to *excite* and maintain a martial spirit in their young men, and count one hundred warriors in the whole nation.

(3) The Brothertown Indians are the scanty remnant of the Moheakaunuck Indians, called formerly the *seven tribes on the sea coast.* They lived in Farmington, Stonington, Mohegan, and some other towns in the state of Connecticut, and Narragansett, in the state of Rhode-Island; and gained a poor subsistence by planting a few parcels of exhausted land, fishing, and working at day labour, or making brooms, baskets, &c. for the white people, where they resided. About nine years ago, the Oneidas made them a gift of a tract of excellent wild land, lying twenty miles south of the Oneida lake; which was confirmed to them by a law of the state of New-York. They soon emigrated from Connecticut, and took possession of this new and valuable territory. It was thought at that time that this emigration would be advantageous to them. It was supposed that the wild state of their land, the loss of their fishing, and the impossibility of much intercourse with whites, would create a necessity of labour in order to subsistence; that this labour commenced from necessity, would be continued from habit and inclination; and thus would gradually bring them into a comfortable and improved way of living. But these calculations have not been, and will not be, realized. These Indians have none of the spirit, industry, and perseverance, necessary in those who subdue a wilderness. A small number only have brought their farms into tolerable order. The principal part clear one field for corn, beans and potatoes, and give themselves no further trouble; but either suffer their remaining tracts to be wild, or lease them for a small rent to the neighbouring whites, who have rapidly increased in their vicinity, and from whom they attempt to get a part of their support, as they did in New England. It is well for them that their conveyances of land are not valid by the state law; were it otherwise, most of them would soon be divested of every inch of territory in their present possession.

The

The Stockbridge Indians were greatly injured by serving a few campaigns in the army of the United States, in the late war with Great-Britain. A large proportion of their most promising young men were killed, and their idleness and intemperance increased. They have been much benefitted by their emigration from Stockbridge in Massachusetts, nine and ten years since, to a township of good land given them by the Oneidas in their neighbourhood. They now possess more territory than heretofore; by their greater remoteness from the whites, they are obliged to live more within themselves, and attend to husbandry; and they are, as a community, more industrious and sober, and better provided than in their former situation.

The Oneidas were severe sufferers in the late war, in which they took part with the Americans. Many of their warriors were killed; and in the year 1780, the hostile Indians, British troops, and refugees drove them from their villages, which they burned and wasted. For two years they were hutted near Skenectady, or wandered in idleness and dependence among the neighbouring Dutch and English towns, till the cessation of hostilities in 1782, permitted them to return to their settlements. This event was truly detrimental to the Oneidas. At the commencement of the war they had attained to some degree of regularity, industry, and prosperity. But the devastation of their towns reduced them to absolute want and dependence; and their dispersion among the whites rendered them, more than ever, idle, intemperate, and abject. When they returned to their villages, after the peace, they were wretchedly poor, their land was much overgrown, and their reluctance to labour doubled. To these evils which they suffered from the late war, are to be added, the discord and animosity, which their different political sentiments and conduct originated. The distinction of whig and tory took place; and with it resentments and dissensions, which embitter their intercourse, and will be continued through successive generations.

The immigration of great numbers of white people into their neighbourhood, which is rapidly going forward, may be thought advantageous in some respects. It gives them opportunity to get provisions and clothing for their furs in greater quantity and cheapness, than heretofore; it favours the introduction of our arts and manners, and the English education

education of their children, if they are disposed to obtain them. But, when it is considered, on the other hand, that it threatens the speedy destruction of their game; that by affording them the opportunity of getting some provisions from the whites, it lessons the necessity and promotes the neglect of tillage; that experience proves that the Indians generally adopt the vices without the virtues of the whites who surround them; and that, as the latter multiply in their neighbourhood, they are lessened, vitiated, impoverished, rooted out, and destroyed; this immigration may be pronounced injurious to the natives.

(3) Their *numbers*, till within twenty or thirty years, were continually diminishing. Since this time, they have remained nearly stationary; allowing for the accidental destruction of some lives in war, mentioned above.

(5) The causes of this decreasing, or uniform state of population, are, as far as I am acquainted, there being a smaller number of children born among them than among civilized nations; the hardships incident to infancy; the general and excessive use of spirituous liquors by the men, and in some cases by the women; debility arising from idleness; scanty, irregular, and unwholesome diet; frequent consumptions and inflammatory disorders.

(6) Not more than two or three pure whites are found among the Brothertown and Stockbridge Indians; nor more than two or three families of whites among the Oneidas; who are generally persons of infamous character, and not superior in any respect to the natives. French and Canadian traders, in some instances, formerly incorporated and intermarried with the Oneidas; and thirty or forty of their mixed descendants exist.

(7) Little can be said in favour of the morals of these Indians. Many of their savage virtues are lost; and many of the vices peculiar to civilized society contracted. The hospitality, the courage, the fortitude, the spirit of independence, and the respect for the chiefs, which pertained to their more savage state, are in a great measure wanting. They are generally addicted to habitual lying and drunkenness; and theft and fornication are frequent. The missionaries have undoubtedly been instrumental in withstanding the progress of corruption; and maintaining among them some good practices and good characters. The Rev. Samuel Kirkland

Kirkland is missionary from the society in Scotland and Corporation of Harvard College to the Oneidas and others of the Six Nations; the Rev. John Sergeant from the same to the Stockbridge Indians. They generally attend publick worship and instruction on the sabbath, and behave with great seriousness and decorum during the exercises. A small number of the women seem to be influenced by the truth and motives of christianity, and live in the conscientious and uniform observance of its duties. A smaller number of the men have also professed, and appeared to regard and value, the gospel; but rarely is there a male professor of the gospel so exemplary, as not frequently to falsify his word, drink to excess, and commit other immoralities. There are two instances in the whole Six Nations, and two only, of persons, who, since their conversion to christianity, have not been intoxicated. Art, dissimulation, and duplicity are common traits in the Indian character. Their resentments are keen and lasting; and though they do not often gratify them by shedding the blood of their adversary, they endeavour to retaliate with interest in other methods. A party spirit rages in almost every tribe and nation, to a great degree. Contending factions often carry their mutual hatred, animosity, calumny, and abuse to dreadful lengths. The origin of these parties is generally the contests of rival chiefs for pre-eminence; the sale and division of territory, and the intrigues and the bribes of land-jobbers and traders.

It must be acknowledged on the other hand, that the spirit of ferocity and revenge, which marked them before their acquaintance with Europeans, is much softened and subdued: their general behaviour is harmless and inoffensive, and often obliging and kind. Great civility is practised by them in conversation; and they appear averse to contradiction and disputation. Adultry on the part of the women is almost unknown. When they seriously accept a trust, they are seldom found to betray it; and though the basest ingratitude is very common, instances occur of remarkable zeal and fidelity in serving a benefactor.

The state of industry among them is wretched. They seem to have an insurmountable aversion to labour; and though they discover some energy in the chace, wholly want it in husbandry and the arts of life. With respect to the Oneidas, their habitations consist of three or four framed and boarded

boarded houses, built principally by whites, a large number of unhewn, and a few hewn log houses, built by themselves, and a few wigwams, entirely constructed with bark. A few cribs and benches, wooden bowls, spoons and baskets, of their own formation, with some necessary vessels for cooking, purchased of whites, generally constitute their furniture. They dress chiefly after the Indian manner; though several can make garments in the English fashion. In two or three instances they imperfectly adopt our husbandry, possess the most necessary farming utensils, and succeed in tillage. All the others in the nation get half or two thirds of their subsistence by raising corn, beans, and potatoes, having no implement but the hoe; and the other part by hunting and fishing. The labour of the tillage is chiefly performed by the women; though latterly the men afford them considerable assistance. In short, they live in laziness and poverty. Though their soil is easily cultivated, and highly productive; and, on account of the immigration to their vicinity, the price of the productions of the earth is almost equal to that of the city of New-York; they often want the necessaries, and always the conveniences of living; and suffer greatly from hunger, nakedness, and hardship. This representation is less applicable to the Stockbridge Indians, than to the Oneidas; but the Brothertown tribe verify almost every circumstance in it.

With respect to the religious opinions of the Oneidas in a pagan state, I have understood, that they believed in a *Great Spirit*, who was supreme; and in many inferiour deities, guardians and governours of particular nations and tribes; that they offered animals in sacrifice, and observed several religious festivals; that they had an idea of a future state of rewards and punishments, where the persons who had committed certain vices, cowardice and suicide especially, would sink into a dark gulph, over which all were to walk on a small pole; and those who had practised certain virtues would get safe to the other side, enjoy a mild climate, and a country abounding with game.

These notions seem now to be generally removed or rectified by christianity, to which, as explained to them by missionaries, they appear to give a faint assent, though they often say it is a better religion for the white people than for them.

They have full faith in witchcraft, and the influence of departed

departed spirits over human affairs. Their villages are sometimes in the utmost consternation with the accounts of strange sights, apparitions, and possessions, which crafty or credulous persons circulate.

There is an opinion prevalent among them that their ancestors came originally from the west.

(8) They in general of late years think rather favourably of the manners and civilization of the whites. The inhabitants of one small village among the Oneidas, making seven or eight families, have a more savage cast of mind and manners than the rest, affect a contempt for civilization, and wish to remove from the neighbourhood of white people. But most of them acknowledge the superiour dignity and happiness of a civilized state, wish to have their children formed to it, and say that nothing but an adoption of our arts and manners will save them from extinction. If they sometimes reflect on us for being cowardly, effeminate, or tame-spirited, they do it not so much from a real contempt for us, as to relieve that uneasy sense of inferiority which mortifies and oppresses them. When, however, they have acknowledged the importance of industry and arts to their happiness, respectability, and even existence; they will add, "*Indians can't work.*" They feel fast bound by the power of their savage habits; and do not summon resolution to try to practise according to their conviction. The character of the parents is transmitted to the children; who grow up in all that indolence, listlessness and intemperance, which their predecessors exemplified, lamented, and condemned. The government of the United States has stipulated to build them a grist-mill and saw-mill, and pay annually to the Oneidas, as one of the Six Nations, their proportion of 4500 dollars, in domestic animals, implements of husbandry, and the support of artizans in or near their villages. A sum has been afforded for the last purpose for three years past; but so small is the encouragement, and so unpleasant the situation, that no *reputable* persons have been obtained to settle with them.

A school-master, supported by the society in Scotland, has been employed a few years with the Oneidas: many of their children can read and write in the Indian, and a few in the English language. The Brothertown Indians generally speak and read English; and many of the Stockbridge tribe.

(9) Reflecting Indians are very much distressed with their apprehensions respecting their destiny. They have faint hopes that civilization will be introduced; but they seriously fear that they shall be obliged to remove from the neighbourhood of the whites; or that if they continue in their present situation, they shall be poor, despised, and dependent, gradually dwindling, till they become finally extinct. It is certain that as the whites advance towards Indians, the latter become vicious, intemperate, sickly, and dispirited, and, in general, diminish in numbers. I believe it is the opinion of those who best know and consider their history and present condition, that they are destined to utter extermination.

JOHN THORNTON KIRKLAND.

Boston, Feb. 1795.

AN ORIGINAL LETTER FROM DR. WILLIAM CLARKE, OF BOSTON, TO DR. FRANKLIN, OF PHILADELPHIA.

SIR, *Boston, May* 6, 1754.

I received your two favours, by the two last posts; for both of which I am very much obliged to you; the former I should have acknowledged, by the return of the post; but was obliged to be out of town. I now return you the papers, with my hearty thanks for the trouble you have taken.

I fully agree to your observation in your last, that although several of the English governments are singly a match for the French; yet under their present circumstances and disposition, all of them together are not able to withstand them. I am very sorry that neither your government nor some of your neighbouring ones have exerted any proper spirit, with regard to the present measures of the French, nor a proper concern for their own security. For my own part, I cannot help thinking that unless there be a united and vigorous opposition of the English colonies to them, the French are laying a solid foundation for being some time or other, sole masters of this continent; notwithstanding our present superiority to them, in point of numbers. But this union is hardly to be expected to be brought about by any confederacy, or voluntary agreement, among ourselves. The jealousies the colonies have of each other, with regard to their real

real or imaginary different, interests, &c. will effectually hinder any thing of this kind from taking place. But were every thing else to be got over we should never agree about the form of the union, or who should have the execution of the articles of it. So that however necessary a step this may be, for the mutual safety and preservation of these colonies; it is pretty certain, it will never be taken, unless we are forced to it, by the supreme authority of the nation. And how little attentive those that have the management of this authority are, and have been, to the affairs of the plantations, we know but too well.

Inclosed I send you the heads of what is intended to serve, for several small pieces, to be published at home; if it should become necessary to raise the spirits of the people, in order to awaken the attention of the ministry. I should be extremely obliged to you for any hints upon any part of it, especially the last; particularly the nature of the union, that ought to be established amongst his majesty's colonies, on this continent; under what direction the whole English force of this continent might be best placed, to answer the design of the union, and by what method any tolerable computation may be made of the numbers of the people, in the respective colonies. You will find by the governour's speeches, and the address of both houses, what is the present temper of our court; but as the new elections are coming on, we cannot well tell what may be the temper of the next.

I am your most obedient, humble servant,

WILLIAM CLARKE.

P. S. Our court have appointed commissioners to meet with the commissioners from the other governments, at the proposed interview with the Indians of the Six Nations. [*This was the congress at Albany, in July*, 1754.] The French forts are of no consequence, but as it gives them the advantage of gaining the Indians. Indeed their building forts at such distances from the places from whence they must draw their supplies, and that with so much difficulty, must, I should think, rather weaken them, than make them more formidable; was it not hereby they will be able, in a manner, to engross the whole trade of the Indians, and so effectually to attach them to their interest, as to have it in their power to employ them to harass all the English out-settlements

ments throughout their whole extent, even in time of peace; and when once it is in their power, we know that they won't fail of doing it.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, Esq. Philadelphia.

[The following letter, written prior to the foregoing, should have been placed before it in this collection.]

AN ORIGINAL LETTER FROM DR. WILLIAM CLARKE, OF BOSTON, TO AN AMERICAN GENTLEMAN, THEN IN LONDON.

DEAR SIR, *Boston, November* 29, 1748.

YOUR favour of the 25th of September, by Captain Fadre, came safe to my hands, and I am glad to find by it, what indeed I never doubted, that you are like to be well pleased, during your stay in England. It is not long since I have been able to procure the subscription paper for the library from Mr. Gray, and by its having lain still for so long a time, the spirit of subscribing is very much flagged; but however I shall immediately exert myself to the utmost to complete it, and procure from friends all the assistance possible. Your family is well, as are all other friends. The club desire their compliments to you.

Many people here have been much surprised at seeing your name to a petition, dated September 21, last, presented to the lords commissioners of the treasury. For my own part, I acknowledge that I cannot account for it, without your help; and as it at present seems to me to reflect upon your character, you will not wonder that I am uneasy till I can have it set in some other light, more consistent with your honour, than it at present appears to me in. You will therefore not only forgive me, but look upon it as an act of the strictest friendship, when I candidly, and without any disguise, tell you my objections to your conduct in this affair. First of all, then, I imagine that no number of persons whatsoever had any right to interpose, to hinder speedy payment of the money voted by parliament to be paid to the respective colonies; because the stopping payment of the several sums, and the regulation of the currencies, are two distinct things, the latter, many persons have a right to demand; the other no body but the respective governments, to whom the several sums are voted to be paid. Besides, it at present appears

appears to me to be a very bad piece of policy, in any persons concerned for the interest of New-England, and especially upon the reasons given in the petition, as it is giving the ministry a pretence for delaying payment, for as long time as they please; and as it is well known that they are always pressed and straitened for money. It is to me more than probable that they will make use of this pretence for detaining such a sum as long as possible; and for that very reason will lay every obstacle in the way, that may hinder the settlement of the currencies in the plantations, upon a proper footing. Whereas, had the money been paid, the parliament was near sitting, and if it was thought proper to have applied for an act of parliament, to settle the currencies in these provinces, and to destroy paper money, it might then have been given as a good reason for the parliament's doing it immediately; and not postponing it to a future time; that now was the time when they were best able to do it, as there had been such large sums paid them, and the assistance and interest of the ministry might have been undoubtedly obtained towards procuring an act for this purpose, the very next sessions; but I am much mistaken, if, as things stand at present, instead of this, they will not effectually prevent the parliament's intermeddling in the affair for some time at least. All this relates to the petition in general only, the petitioning the lords of the treasury to stop payment; but there is one paragraph in the petition, which, I think at present, concerns your character, as you have signed it, more nearly, viz. "That it will be very difficult for their assemblies to agree upon an equitable rule for this purpose; as many persons in the administration of the government there, are become possessors of the bills at a depreciated value, and expect to receive near double the sums they have expended in the collection of them; by which means, those who have a large share of authority will not only oppose their interest to that of the colonies in general, but will probably have the charge and custody of such sums as may be paid to their agents, and consequently a power of detaining them until the other branches of the assemblies are compelled into their measures." It is generally imagined here, that governour Shirley is the chief, if not the only person designed, in this paragraph, and that it was designed that it should be so understood by the persons to whom the petition was presented; and for my part

part I cannot possibly understand it any otherwise; nor can I find any other person whatsoever, besides the governour of New-Hampshire, that the latter part of this paragraph can possibly be adapted to. And if this be really the case, if governour Shirley is hereby designed to be represented (and that as matter of complaint) as collecting the province bills at their depreciated value, with a design to make a profit of them; surely whoever signed such a charge ought to have something more than bare surmise to support it, which I very well know is impossible; the case not being in fact, with relation to him, as is there represented; and there can be no proof of that which is not true. But as you were well known to be acquainted with the governour, and it always was supposed that there was a friendship between you, and of consequence a confidence, it will always be supposed, that you did not set your hand to this upon surmise only; but that you had had opportunities to know how the fact was, and that you did really know that it was as is in that paragraph represented. But, *Dear Jerry*, was this really the case? or rather had you not all the reason in the world to believe that the governour was not collecting the province bills at all? nay, did you not know that he was the promoter of the bill, which has had the approbation of both houses, for calling in all the bills, and paying them in silver, at the rate of one shilling sterling for ten shillings old tenor, which would effectually hinder him as well as others, from taking such an advantage, contrary to the common interest? But either I am mistaken in all this, or else you must have hastily signed this petition, without having fully considered the force and consequence of it; for I cannot, I will not believe, that after twenty odd years experience of your honour and integrity, you could act contrary to the character you have always sustained. I shall impatiently wait to hear from you, for I long to have this trouble removed, for I assure you it is one of the greatest I ever had. I heartily wish you health and happiness, and am, &c.

[*As there appears no superscription on the MS. it is uncertain to whom this letter is addressed.*]

Dr. Belknap's Letter to Dr. Kippis, Author of Biographia Brittanica.

Rev. Sir, *Boston, April* 4, 1795.

HAVING read, with great pleasure, some of your writings, and having heard, that you bear the character of great candour and goodness, as well as of indefatigable industry in searching after truth, it gave me very sensible mortification, to find in your life of Captain Cook, an unmerited reproach cast on the Congress of the American states.

After reciting an order, issued by the late Dr. Franklin, acting as ambassador from America, in France, in the year 1779, when Captain Cook was expected to return, from his last voyage of discovery, to Europe, in which order the Doctor recommended to American cruisers, in case they should meet Captain Cook at sea, to treat him not as an enemy, but as a friend; and assuring them, "that in so doing they would not only gratify the generosity of their own dispositions, but *obtain the approbation of Congress*," you remark as follows, viz.

"In the confidence which the Doctor expressed, with respect to the approbation of Congress, he happened to be mistaken; as the members of that assembly, at least the greater part of them, were not possessed of minds equally enlightened, with that of their ambassador. He was not supported by his masters, in this noble act of humanity, of love to science and of liberal policy. The orders he had given were instantly *reversed;* and it was directed by Congress, that especial care should be taken, to *seize* Capt. Cook, if an opportunity of doing it occurred. All this proceeded from a false notion, that it would be injurious to the United States, for the English to obtain a knowledge of the opposite coast of America."

The unqualified assurance, with which you have introduced this assumed fact to publick view, is the more extraordinary, as you might have been induced to suspect it, by inquiring of American gentlemen whom you have seen in England. Dr. Adams, the Vice-President of the United States, whilst he resided in London, could have undeceived you; and I am assured that you had frequent opportunities of conversing with him. By the favour of this gentleman, during

during the last session of Congress, and by information received from gentlemen, who were delegates to Congress in the years 1779 and 1780, I have it in my power to produce the most satisfactory evidence, that the American Congress did not disapprove "the noble humanity, love to science and liberal policy of their ambassador;" that they did not "reverse the orders which he had given;" and that they did not issue any "directions to seize Capt Cook, if an "opportunity of doing it occurred;" and therefore that there is no ground for your reproachful charge against them, and the people whom they represented, as if they "were not "possessed of minds equally enlightened with that of their "ambassador;" or that they entertained "a false notion, "that it would be injurious to the United States, for the "English to obtain a knowledge of the opposite coast of "America."

The following papers, containing the detail of my evidence, are respectfully submitted to the publick; and I trust will produce conviction in your own, and in every candid mind, that you have been misinformed, with respect to what you have published as a fact. The originals are deposited in the archives of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

I am, sir, with much respect, your most obedient servant,

JEREMY BELKNAP,
Corresponding Secretary of said Society.

REV. ANDREW KIPPIS, D. D.

[From the Vice-President.]

Philadelphia, January 16, 1795.

DEAR SIR,

YOUR letter of the 2d was brought to me this morning, and I thank you for your attention to the reputation of our country.

I have shewn your letter to Mr. HENRY, Mr. ELLSWORTH, and other members of Congress in 1779 and 1780, and there is not one, who remembers any thing like the account, which Dr. Kippis has given.

I will take other measures for ascertaining facts, and transmit the result to you, as soon as I can. Dr. Franklin's recommendation to American ships of war, to respect Captain Cook, as far as I remember any thing of it, was universally approved and applauded by all Americans, without exception.

I

I have often been a delightful hearer of Dr. KIPPIS in the pulpit, and have often met him in company at my own house, and at the tables of other persons, and never without an high opinion of his candour, as well as his information. He has written nothing, I believe, but what he honestly thought to be true; but he has been misinformed. I will do all, in my power, to enable you to undeceive him, and disabuse the public. I am, &c.

JOHN ADAMS.

[From the Vice-President.]

Philadelphia, January 23, 1795.

DEAR SIR,

I have delivered your letter to the secretary of state, and he has caused the records to be searched; and the result is the report enclosed. I shall send you more on this subject; in the mean time you will preserve this.

With great regard, &c. JOHN ADAMS.

Department of State, January 22, 1795.

I hereby certify, that I have carefully examined the records in the office of the department of state, and find no mention, made therein, of or concerning the directions issued in March, 1779, by Dr. Franklin, then in France, to all commanders of armed ships in the American service, &c. as stated in Dr. Kippis's life of Capt. Cook.

GEORGE TAYLOR, jun. chief clerk.

[From the Vice-President to Mr. Madison.]

Philadelphia, January 23, 1795.

DEAR SIR,

Will you be so good as to read the enclosed letter from Dr. Belknap, and tell me, from your own recollection, of what passed in Congress in 1779, 1780, and 1781, whether there is any colour for the imputations cast on our country by Dr. Kippis. I often heard him, in the pulpit, and frequently met him, in society, in London, and ever conceived and entertained a good opinion of his candour, and a great idea of his information. I doubt not, he wrote what he believed; but, certainly, he has been misinformed.

I doubt not, he will readily correct his errour, as soon as

he shall be convinced of it; and if you will be so obliging as to recollect what passed within your own knowledge, relative to Dr. Franklin's recommendation, and write it to me, I will convey it to Dr. Belknap, and take some other measures to shew that Dr. Franklin's liberality of sentiment was never censured, but on the contrary was admired by his fellow citizens. I have the honour to be, &c.

JOHN ADAMS.

[From Mr. Madison to the Vice-President.]

Philadelphia, February 3, 1795.

DEAR SIR,

I HAVE been induced to this delay in acknowledging your letter of 23d ult. enclosing one to you from Mr. Belknap, by a desire to obtain from my memory, all the information it might ever have possessed in relation to the error in Dr. Kippis's life of Capt. Cook.

I was not a member of Congress till March, 1780. It is probable, therefore, that if the directions to American commanders, in favour of Capt. Cook, issued, as is stated, in March, 1779, they must have been transmitted to that body, and undergone its consideration, before I could have been present. After I became a member, nothing was ever done on the subject, as far as my memory can inform me. I do not even recollect, that the subject ever fell incidentally under any public discussion. I have, however, a pretty strong impression, that it occasionally entered into the conversation of the members, as it often did into that of intelligent citizens out of doors; and that I never heard a sentiment uttered, which did not applaud the magnanimity of the idea, which considered Captain Cook's expedition as consecrated to the general good of mankind, and consequently not included in the hostilities between particular nations.

With the highest respect and esteem, I have the honour to be, &c. JAMES MADISON, jun.

P. S. I have shewn the above to Mr. MUHLENBURG, the speaker, and Mr. BOUDINOT, a member of the House of Representatives. The former was a member of Congress during the years 1779, 1780, and 1781. The latter from July, 1780, to the Peace in 1783. Both of them concur in what I have stated, and recollect nothing more particular on the subject. From

[From Governour Adams.]

Boston, March 30, 1795.

SIR,

I RECEIVED your note, stating what Dr. Kippis had asserted, respecting a recommendation of Dr. Franklin, minister from America in France, in the year 1779, to the American cruisers, to treat Capt. Cook, on his expected return from a voyage of discoveries, as a friend, and not an enemy; assuring them, that in so doing, they would obtain the approbation of Congress. But that the Doctor was mistaken, for that assembly, at least the greater part of them, instantly reversed the order of Dr. Franklin, and directed, that a special order should be taken, to seize Capt. Cook, if an opportunity for doing it occurred.

You request me to give you a certificate respecting the matter, and to express the years when I was in Congress.— I was a member from the first sitting of Congress, in the year 1774, until the Spring of the year 1781. It was my constant practice, once in twelve or fifteen months, to make a short visit to my constituents. In the year 1779, I was detained in Boston a much longer time than usual, by a fit of sickness; in which time, I constantly received from Mr. Lowell, and my other colleagues, information of the most material transactions of Congress. I do now declare to you, that I do not recollect, either while I was present in Congress, or from any of my colleagues, while I was absent, that the orders he (Dr. Franklin) had given to the American cruisers were instantly or ever reversed, or that it was directed by Congress, that a special order should be taken to seize Capt. Cook, if an opportunity for so doing it occurred.

It appears to me that Dr. Kippis must have been misinformed. I am, with respect, your friend and humble servant,

SAMUEL ADAMS.

Rev. Dr. BELKNAP.

[From James Lovell, Esq.]

Boston, March 28, 1795.

SIR,

HAVING been constantly upon duty, as a member of Congress, from the beginning of the year 1777 to the beginning of 1782, and, for the most part of that time, one of the committee of foreign affairs, and in some of the years upon

upon a committee for publishing the Journals; and having also been individually in the habit of corresponding with Dr. Franklin during the whole period, I feel no hesitation in declaring the representation made by Dr. Kippis, in your extract before me, to be *false*, and though, perhaps, not *malicious*, yet most *disreputably inadvertent* in him, as the author of Biographia Brittanica. Dr. Franklin was so sure of the liberality of the government under which he was employed, that I doubt whether he thought it necessary even to send a copy of his orders, respecting Captain Cook, for the inspection of Congress. I am, sir, with much esteem your humble servant, JAMES LOVELL.

Rev. Dr. BELKNAP.

[From Elbridge Gerry, Esq.]

SIR, *Cambridge, 3d April*, 1795.

IN compliance with the request of the president of the Massachusetts Historical Society, permit me to address you on the subject of an extract which he has transmitted to me from the Biographia Brittanica of Dr. Kippis, who therein asserts, that "Dr. Franklin, acting as minister plenipotentiary from the United States, in the year 1779, recommended to American cruisers, if they should meet Captain Cook, on a return from a voyage of discoveries, to treat him as a friend, and not as an enemy: that the Doctor was not supported by his masters in this noble act of humanity, of love to science, and of liberal policy: but that the orders he had given were instantly revoked; and it was directed by Congress, that a special order should be taken to seize Captain Cook, if an opportunity for doing it occurred.

If such a measure had been adopted by Congress, it probably would have occurred to me, as I was a member of that body, and constantly attended it, from September, 1776, to March, 1780; but I have no recollection of such an act, or of any measure similar to it: admitting, however, it may have escaped my memory, it would certainly have appeared either on the publick or private journals of Congress, and I have the whole of the former, and a copy of the latter, to the period last mentioned, but cannot find, in either of them, any such order as is mentioned by Dr. Kippis, or any entry which wears the semblance of it.

That Congress therefore have neither passed or sanctioned such

such an order, I conceive is demonstrable; and if this unmerited aspersion is productive of disgrace, on whom does it devolve unless on the author? if then, to justify his conduct in this instance, the Doctor should endeavor to shew that he has been grossly imposed on in point of fact, the publick will determine whether this is a sufficient apology for his hasty and unjust reproach of the government of a nation; or whether, as a professed friend of liberality and candour, he ought not to have presumed that Congress were incapable of such an illiberal act, until he possessed incontestible evidence to the contrary.

I have the honour to be, sir, your friend and very humble servant,

E. GERRY.

To the Rev. Doctor BELKNAP,
Corresponding Secretary of the
Massachusetts Historical Society.

COPY OF A LETTER FROM DR. WILLIAM CLARKE, OF BOSTON, TO BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, ESQ. OF PHILADELPHIA.

DEAR SIR, *Boston, February, 3, 1755.*

WHEN you was in Boston I thought you a wise man; that you had some knowledge of human nature and politicks, as well as of natural philosophy; but if you have no greater pretensions to the latter, than you have to the former, I am afraid lest you be obliged to give up all claim to either; for it has been proved by some of our own wise men and boys, (for they are sufficient for that) even to a demonstration, before a large body of people assembled in town-meeting, that you and the rest of the commissioners at Albany have shewn yourselves, by the projected *plan for an union*, to be arrant blockheads; and, at the same time, to have set up a scheme for the destroying the liberties and privileges of every British subject upon the continent; but this, so thinly disguised and covered, that the meanest creature in the world could see through it in an instant. For my part, I was so confounded that I had entertained so good an opinion of you and some other gentlemen, and that it was generally known, that I would fain have got out of the assembly, for fear I should be pointed at, but the throng was so great that I could not break through.

But, all joking apart, I was much surprised at the management; as for the talk of the generality that spoke upon the

the subject, it was no other than what was to be expected from the men; but one gentleman, upon whom there was great dependence, when he stood up, spoke so little to the purpose, that I was almost provoked to break through the resolution that I had maintained, through the whole, of not entering into any argument upon such a subject, before such an auditory: However, after much debate, being willing to prevent, if possible, the town's taking so ridiculous a step as I find they were like to, I endeavoured to pursuade them that it was highly improper that a thing of this nature should be brought before a town-meeting. If these things were to come there, there was no occasion for any General Court, and that in fact it was dissolving all government, and reducing every thing to a state of nature. That that assembly were not, nor could not be, proper judges of the propriety or impropriety of what was then laid before them; but supposing they could get over this, that at least it was a matter of such great importance, complex nature, and vast extent, that at least it required some time, for persons that were judges, to weigh every part in their own mind, before they came to any judgment about it; and that they ought not to come to a hasty determination, within a few hours after first hearing it read; and therefore moved that nothing might be determined by the town, but that it might be left to the judgment and direction of their representatives; or at least, that it might be put off for some longer time; but it was so very plain a case, that a vote was carried, by a very great majority, as you have heard.

As to the pamphlet, it is pretty much in the same situation yet, as it was when you left us. But I hope by the next post to be able to send you one.

Mr. Hunter has had a sad time of it, but has borne it with great patience, and when beginning to get better, with great cheerfulness. He is now sitting up, reading Ld. Bacon, but is plaguy uneasy, he cannot come to Ld. Bolinbroke's posthumous pieces. You will hear from him undoubtedly this post.

I hope I may, when this comes to your hands, congratulate you upon your safe arrival to your family, and finding all well there. The governour does not know of my writing, or I am sure he would lay his commands upon me to send you his compliments. He is just as he was when you was here, unless, if possible, fuller of business. May we meet together in less than fifty years.

I am, dear sir, with the greatest esteem, your most affectionate, humble servant,

WILLIAM CLARKE.

A Topographical Description of Exeter in New-Hampshire. By Dr. Samuel Tenney, Corresponding Member of the Historical Society.

The town of Exeter is situated at the head of the tide, on a branch of Piscataqua river, by the natives called Squamscot, or Swamscot, about fourteen miles, as the road runs southwesterly from Portsmouth, the capital of the state; and at nearly the same distance northwesterly from Newbury-Port, in Massachusetts. The first settlement was made in the year 1638, by a number of emigrants from Braintree, then a part of Boston, under, Mr. John Wheelwright, who had previously purchased of the aboriginals an extensive tract of land, now constituting a large part of the counties of Rockingham and Strafford. "Judging themselves without the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, they combined into a separate body politic, and chose rulers and assistants, who were sworn to a due discharge of their office, and the people were as solemnly sworn to obey them. The laws were made in a popular assembly, and formally consented to by the rulers. This combination subsisted three years." "In the year 1642, finding themselves comprehended within the claim of Massachusetts, and being weary of their inefficacious mode of government, they petitioned the court, and were readily admitted under their jurisdiction. William Wenborne, Robert Smith, and Thomas Wardhall, were appointed their magistrates, and they were annexed to the county of Essex."†

Exeter having been long a frontier town, the inhabitants were frequently harrassed by the savages, in the successive wars, in which the country was engaged with them: but they suffered far less than those of most other places equally exposed; and the settlement was never broken up. Their progress in population, however, appears to have been rather slow; for in the year 1680, when New-Hampshire became independent of Massachusetts, the qualified voters in the town were only twenty. Exeter was originally so extensive that three towns have at different times, been detached from it; viz. Newmarket in the year 1727, Epping in 1741, and Brentwood in 1742. Their united population now amounts to about twice that of the parent town.

The

† Dr. Belknap's History of New-Hampshire. Vol. I. p. 37 & 57.

The first CHURCH was formed immediately after the settlement of the town, in the year 1638, under the Rev. Mr. John Wheelwright. "It consisted of eight persons, who, with their minister, had been dismissed from a church in Boston." In the year 1643, Mr. Wheelwright removed to Wells, in the Province of Maine. The succession of ministers since is as follows.

			Æt.
Rev. Samuel Dudley, settled in	1650,	deceased in 1683.	77.
John Clarke,	1698,	1705.	35.
John Odin,	1706,	1754.	72.
Woodbridge Odlin,	1743,	1776.	57.
Isaac Mansfield,	1776,	removed 1787.	
William Fred. Rowland,	1790.		

About the year 1745, a new society was formed, over which the Rev. Daniel Rogers was settled in 1750. He died in 1785, Æt. 79, and was succeeded by the Rev. Joseph Brown, in 1792.

As this separation was attended with a violent convulsion, it was followed by a series of mutual injuries and resentments, which greatly interrupted the harmony of society for many years. The actors have now all become extinct, without having communicated their prejudices to their descendents: In consequence of which, good neighbourhood, harmony, and sociability, are re-established; and perhaps the United States do not afford an instance of a town, whose meetings for transacting publick business are conducted with more good humour, decorum, and unanimity, than those of Exeter. For this happiness, we are, in some measure, indebted to the good fortune of having among us no man of influence, who will *condescend* to head a party.

Exeter is bounded northerly on Newmarket and Stratham; easterly on Hampton and Hampton-falls; southerly on Kensington and Kingston; and westerly on Brentwood and Epping. It is of an irregular figure, which might square upwards of four miles. The body of the town lies about the falls (which separate the fresh from the tide water) principally on the western side of the river. It consists of about 120 houses, irregularly scattered over an area of nearly a mile in length, and generally about one eighth of a mile in width. The whole town, when the federal census was taken, contained 1722 inhabitants. Its population was nearly

ly the same before the revolution. The compact part of the town is more populous than at that period, but the skirts are thinned in proportion. In justice, however, to the fecundity of the inhabitants of Exeter, it ought to be observed, that emigrants from it have, at all periods, been pretty numerous. They, or their descendents, may be found scattered over most parts of the state, besides many in Vermont and the district of Maine. Add to this, that Gilmantown, now the second in population in New-Hampshire, was settled by emigrants from Exeter.

The SOIL, in different parts of the town, is various. On the eastern side of the river it is generally of a good quality. The centre of the town consists of an extensive sandy plain, intersected by several ravines, into which it is drained by numerous springs, forming, in the course of half a mile, a considerable brook. This plain, when properly manured, produces excellent crops of indian corn; and is remarkable for not requiring to be fallowed. Some parts of it have been annually planted ever since the settlement of the town. One gentleman, lately deceased, dropped the seed for more than sixty successive crops on the same field, which will still, in a good year, yield thirty bushels to an acre. The skirts of the town, on the western side of the river, are a mixture of very good, indifferent, and very poor land. On the river, near the centre of the town, is a considerable body of low interval. It has hitherto, either through negligence or mistaken ideas of its quality, been so little attended to, that it has produced only an inferior kind of English hay: But some experiments, lately made, demonstrate, that, by proper treatment, it might be converted into as valuable a tract of land as any in the county. Upon the whole, although the soil of Exeter is not so generally good as that of several neighbouring towns, yet there is a good proportion of land capable of producing plentiful crops of most kinds of vegetables, usually cultivated in this part of the country. The general growth of timber is oak, pine, beech, and hickory, with several species of maple, birch, elm, &c.

The principal STREAMS by which the town is watered, are Squamscot, commonly called, by the inhabitants, Great River, to distinguish it from another much less, (and, by people in the neighbouring towns, Exeter River,) and Little River. The principal branch of the former arises in Ches-

ter, and after running through Sandown, Poplin, Brentwood, and a considerable part of Exeter, affording many valuable mill-seats, tumbles over a fall of 20 or 30 rods in length, and meets the tide in the centre of the town. It then spreads into a spacious bason, which, at high water, is a very great ornament to the place. Little River arises in Brentwood, and makes a junction with Great River about a third of a mile above the town. Over the falls are thrown two dams, affording seats for four double-geered corn-mills, four saw-mills, two oil-mills, and one fulling-mill. There are four corn-mills, two saw-mills, a fulling-mill, a paper-mill, a slitting mill, and a furnace, on several other falls. Of all these, the corn-mills and fulling-mills alone can commonly work in the summer.

The town is plentifully furnished with STONES. They are of the hard grey kind; and may, with sufficient labour, be wrought into handsome underpinning for houses. Many parts of the town abound in clay, suitable for bricks and earthern ware. The former might be made for exportation in any quantity; especially as there is a plenty of pine wood for burning them, within a small distance of the clay banks; which in some places extend to the borders of the river, so that the bricks might be thrown from the kiln into a boat. Of the latter, a sufficient quantity is made to supply a pretty extensive district of country. On a small stream, in the western part of the town, is a body of marle, so highly valued in Europe as a manure; but how extensive, I have not been able to learn.

The first settlers of Exeter, like those of all the other towns on the lower falls of the various branches of Piscataqua river, devoted their principal attention to LUMBERING. Of all honest employments this is well known to be one of the worst. It serves to keep those engaged in it in a perpetual state of poverty; while, at the same time, it commonly ruins their morals, and induces a premature old age. Though one of the most laborious pursuits, it seems to be of a peculiarly fascinating nature; for every other kind of business is made to yield to it; and agriculture itself is pursued only as an auxiliary. The only gainers by this favorite employment are the traders, who purchase, and the merchants, who export the lumber. Of these many have made handsome estates. Fortunately for Exeter their lumber has been, for many years, exhausted.

exhausted. Nor is there much left in Newmarket, Epping and Brentwood, the towns detached from it. The alteration produced in the face of this tract of country, within the last twenty or thirty years, in consequence of the failure of this business, is very great; and fully equalled by the improvement observable in the morals, manners and fortunes of the inhabitants. Before the late war, the taverns in Exeter (of which it always had a sufficient number) were every night thronged with people from this and the neighbouring towns, who seldom all retired sober. Our publick houses are now orderly, quiet habitations, only for the purpose of accommodating travellers, and people, whom business at the courts of law, or at the publick offices, bring into town. There is no place which does not contain some idle, dissolute, and intemperate people; but the general mass of the inhabitants of the district of which I am speaking, having long since relinquished lumbering, with its attendant vices, are now employed in agriculture and the mechanick arts In consequence of this, they are improving their estates by their industry, economy, and good-husbandry; and securing their reputation and happiness by the regularity of their lives.

I would not be understood to mean that our farmers are remarkable for *neat* husbandry; the reverse of which is too true; but that agriculture is in a flourishing state, compared with its situation at any period before the revolution. Our cultivated lands, though naturally equal in goodness, will not bear a comparison with those of the counties of Essex, Middlesex, and Norfolk, in Massachusetts. This observation is applicable to the whole of the original settlements in New-Hampshire. In some towns, however, in this tract, there are visible marks of the progress of good husbandry; owing, perhaps, to the fortunate circumstance of their having in them several gentleman-farmers, who read, observe, and reason. The influence of such men is very observable in their vicinity; and the want of a sufficient number of them, scattered throughout our towns, is an evil seriously to be lamented. The scarcity of this class of cultivators, in New-England, has probably arisen from two circumstances — the small number of gentlemen of independent fortunes among us, and the little esteem in which agriculture has been holden by such as have not been obliged to pursue it. Till very lately it has been considered as a mean and contemptible business,

business, below the dignity of a gentleman to be engage in, and fit only to be pursued by the most ignorant and clownish of the human race. Fortunately, these ideas, which must have originated in the stupid noddles of half-polished people, are going out of repute; and men of the first character for talents and accomplishments now think it no indignity to cultivate the soil. When agriculture shall be generally considered in its proper light, as being not only the most necessary, but one of the most reputable and elegant of all employments; when it shall be fashionable for gentlemen of the highest ranks (for ranks there ever will be in society) to value themselves on being (as they may with propriety be considered) a kind of *humble assistants* to the Deity in the *work of creation;* and when to enjoy the godlike pleasure, they shall after having obtained their competency, devote part of their time to the direction of the various operations of husbandry; then shall we, probably, see a spirit of enterprise and emulation infused into our farmers, which will be productive of the highest advantages to agriculture, and to the various employments with which it is connected. From the present flourishing state of our country, and the prevalence of just sentiments of the importance of this branch of business, we may contemplate this period as at no great distance; and every liberal and truly publick-spirited mind must anticipate it with pleasant emotions.

From the SITUATION of the body of the town, which is flat, and considerably lower than the surrounding lands, strangers would naturally suspect it to be unhealthy. But it is, in fact, remarkably otherwise; few places in the country affording so little business for physicians. Fevers of all kinds are far less frequent than in the neighbouring towns. The common contagious epidemicks, as far as I can judge from my own observation, are mild and benign. The consumption seems to be the most prevalent disorder, occasioning about one third of the deaths in our annual bills of mortality. Whether this is an unusual proportion for New England, or not, I am unable to determine. Notwithstanding the general healthiness of the place, I do not know that it has been uncommonly productive of instances either of longevity or fecundity. A single example of each, however, may be produced. *Benjamin Hayley* died, four or five years since, aged about 100 years. He lived on the banks of the river,

river, where it is many rods wide, and, till within three or four years of his death, was accustomed, once in every summer, to dive from a wharf, and swim across and back again. The last time he attempted it, some of the family, being apprehensive that he had not strength sufficient for the enterprize, accompanied him in a boat; but he proved their fears to be unfounded, by performing it as usual. The family of *Gilman* has ever constituted a considerable proportion of the population of Exeter. They are from hence dispersed over various parts of the state, in a greater plenty, perhaps, than any other name among us. In addition to this, there are about 600 of the name in Gilmantown, which has been settled but thirty odd years. This numerous family proceeded from one pair, who were among the early settlers of Exeter. It is probable there may be many instances of as numerous a progeny proceeding from one stock in the same period; but I am not acquainted with any, in which such numbers, and of the same name, can be found together.

In regard to the WEATHER, one observation presents itself, which is probably of general application; at least within a certain distance from the sea coasts; viz. that the easterly or outwinds are much more common than formerly. In this vicinity they prevail most in the months of April and May. This may arise from the opening of the ground to the sun, by the settlement of an extensive country back of us, which was formerly an uncultivated desert. Among the most obvious effects in this change in the weather, are many cheerless days to valetudinarians, and a frequent destruction of the fruit of our trees while in embryo. This circumstance ought to induce people, who are forming new plantations of fruit trees, to choose a situation as little as possible exposed to these chilling blasts. When a natural defence is unattainable, perhaps its place might be supplied by planting a thick grove of quick-growing forest trees, to the eastward of the place designed for the orchard, several years before the trees are removed from the nursery. In many towns this is an object worthy of attention, independantly of the protection which such groves would afford to the fruit trees; as wood and timber have already become very scarce. They would, at the same time, be an ornament to the farm. *Et decus et tutamen.*

In MANUFACTURES this town promises to make a respectable

able figure. Its local situation is peculiarly favourable. It is sufficiently remote from any of those large market towns, which, like a whirlpool, absorb whatever comes within their vortex; and is surrounded by a tract of country producing the necessaries of life in abundance. Hence living is cheap, house-rent is commonly reasonable, and the people in general are in habits of industry and economy. In addition to these circumstances, the town is situated on navigable water, by which the importation of raw materials, and the exportation of manufactures are facilitated. Before the revolution, ship-building was a very profitable branch of business, to the merchants at least. The vessels were sent, with cargoes of lumber, to the West-India Islands, the produce of which they took on freight to Great-Britain, and there sold. Notwithstanding the loss of this market, there are annually built, in the town, four or five vessels of different burthens, the river being capable of floating down those of 500 tons. Next to ship-building, the trade that brings most money into the town, is the saddler's. It is asserted that a greater quantity of saddlery is manufactured here than in any town this side of Philadelphia. Part of it is shipped, and part goes into the country.

The only regular manufactory is that of sail-cloth and twine. This was established about four or five years ago, by *Thomas Odiorne*, Esq. It is calculated for eight spinners of warp, and they commonly employ about the same number of weavers. The weft is spun in private families. The legislature allow certain immunities to the persons and stock employed in this manufactory, as being the first of the kind established in the state, and pay a bounty of seven shillings per bolt on the duck manufactured. Notwithstanding the embarrassments which this in common with all such establishments as depend principally on foreign artists, usually have to encounter, and the general prejudice in favour of imported duck, the business is supposed to be tolerably profitable. It is now in the hands of four young gentlemen, who, having their fortunes to make, will probably carry it on with spirit. As they have now a competent knowledge of the business, and a handsome stock, their success is not doubtful.

The quantity of linseed oil, annually manufactured in the two mills, before mentioned, is very considerable. At some periods

periods this has been a very lucrative, and is always a profitable branch of business. It might be carried on to a much greater extent, were there not a frequent deficiency of water.

There was formerly at the falls in this town, an *alewife* FISHERY, which afforded an abundant supply of that kind of fish, for the inhabitants of the town and vicinity. But for want of sluices in the dams, by which they might ascend the fresh river, and gain proper places for spawning, they have, for many years, almost disappeared. There was also, till within thirty years, a good *bass fishery*, through the whole course of the river. But very great numbers having been imprudently, or rather *wantonly* taken in one season, they almost totally left it. For several years past, they have been returning to their old haunts, though in small numbers. Could people be restrained from taking them through the ice, it is thought that the river might again be replenished with them, and the fishery restored. The legislature has passed an act for their preservation; but, through the inattention of those, whose duty it is to guard the laws from violation, it is feared that the generous intention will be frustrated. Laws of this kind not duly enforced, serve only to favour the vicious and irregular, at the expense of the conscientious part of the community.* Three or four miles below the falls are taken a few oysters of a small size, but good relish.

The attention of the town of Exeter to the EDUCATION of the rising generation has, for many years, been exemplary. The sum of money annually raised for the support of schools is now about £180. Of this, about two thirds are expended by the selectmen in the compact part. The skirts are divided into four districts, which draw their proportion of the money, and lay it out in hiring English masters, at such seasons as they judge most convenient. For many years the town supported two *latin* schools. Since the establishment of the Academy, to be mentioned hereafter, one of them has been discontinued, and its place supplied by an *english* school. During the summer half of the two last years, an experiment has been made of combining these schools, and placing

* "It is said by some, that fish which are spawned in rivers, and descend to the sea, return to those rivers only, where they are spawned. If this principle be true, the breed might be renewed by bringing some of the bass, which are caught in Merrimack river, alive, over the land, to the nearest part of the waters of Piscataqua, a distance not more than twelve miles. This must be done before the spawning season, and might very easily be accomplished."

Dr. Belknap's Hist. of N. Hampshire. Vol. iii. p. 178.

placing them under the direction of the latin master, each instructor performing a distinct part of the duty, and in separate apartments. For want of a suitable building, they are, during the other part of the year, disconnected. The misses attend only through the former period, and are not intermixed with the boys. The succes of this experiment has induced the town, at their last annual meeting, to make provision for rendering the system permanent. For the instruction of small children (none being allowed to attend the publick schools, who are incapable of reading in classes) and for teaching needle work, &c. there are six or eight private female schools; and for two years past, there has been one for instruction in drawing, tambouring, embroidery, painting on satin, &c. The number of children annually instructed in these schools is great, and their proficiency in general, such as does honour to their instructors.

This town has the happiness of being the seat of the best endowed academy in the United States. It was founded by the liberal donation of the Hon. John Phillips, LL. D. in the year 1781. Mr. William Woodbridge was publickly inducted into the preceptorship in May, 1783; who resigning the place in 1788, was succeeded by Mr. Benjamin Abbot, the present preceptor. His salary is £150 per annum; and he has an assistant, who usually receives about half this sum. The number of students is from 40 to 60. They are instructed in the english, latin, and greek languages, writing, arithmetick, music, elocution, composition, practical geometry, the first principles of geography and astronomy; and occasionally in some other branches of science. The institution is under the direction of the following board of trustees.

The Hon. John Phillips, LL.D.*
John Pickering, LL.D.
Samuel Phillips, LL.D.
Paine Wingate, Esq.
Oliver Peabody, Esq.
The Rev. Benjamin Thurston,
Benjamin Abbot, A. M.

The donation, constituting the original fund for the support of the Academy, consisted in wild lands in several settled

* Mr. Phillips died since this account was written.

tled townships, in this state, valued at £.2000. About half these have been sold. To this were added, in the year 1787, £.4000 in specie notes on interest; and in 1789, £.2000 more. Some other donations have been made since, so that the fund at present is estimated at about £.12,000. The interest of the £ 2000, last mentioned, is appropriated to the charitable purpose of paying the board of poor scholars, whose talents and characters entitle them to publick patronage, while they are preparing for college. A building has lately been erected, in a healthy and agreeable situation, for the accommodation of the students, and at the expense of the fund. The school room is calculated for about ninety; and for neatness and convenience is thought to exceed all others known in the country. The second story forms a spacious room for exhibitions, and a small one for a library. The building is of wood, 76 feet in length and 36 in width, raised on two courses of hewn stone, and has on the top an elegant cupola. The whole is executed in a style that does honour to the institution, and to the taste of the gentlemen who planned it.

The other PUBLICK BUILDINGS are a very handsome and convenient court-house, of nearly the same dimensions as the academy, erected, at the expense of the county and town, in the year 1792; and two meeting-houses, which have nothing to recommend them but an appearance of *antiquity*.

The General Court usually holds a session in this town once in two or three years. The District and Circuit Courts of the United States, as well as the Superior Court, and court of Common Pleas for the county of Rockingham, sit here and at Portsmouth alternately. And here, ever since the revolution, have been kept most of the publick offices of the state and county.

Exeter, though at present rather over-stocked, is a tolerably good stand for TRADE; and, from its situation, many have supposed it must in time be a populous place. But when we consider the natural difficulty of navigating a small, crooked river, augmented by two bridges, and the vicinity of two large commercial towns, where country produce, being in greater demand for the consumption of their inhabitants, will commonly command a higher price, and find a quicker sale than here, we can hardly look on this as a probable event. We have hitherto employed five or six

vessels in foreign trade, principally to the West-Indies. If we can keep the number good, it will be as much as can reasonably be expected. If the town shall ever become much more populous than at present, it must be by the introduction of manufactories, conducted on a large scale. Whether this be a desirable event, those, who are acquainted with the advantages and inconveniences experienced by large manufacturing towns, can best determine. It is undoubtedly of great importance to the publick, that all classes of people be able to procure constant employment; and such manufactories as provide it for those already fixed, in any place, are so far advantageous. But whether it be good policy for a town to increase its population, by drawing common labourers to it, is doubtful. This, at least, is certain, that the morals of the inhabitants of country villages, which, in New-England, are tolerably pure, would run a great hazard of being contaminated and depraved, by an intermixture of too many foreigners of the lower class of manufacturers, who, it is well known, are too generally idle, intemperate, and disorderly.

Of NEW-HAMPSHIRE at large, it may be observed, that its numbers, its wealth, and its respectability, are rapidly increasing; that its resources for the support of government are such as will, with prudent management, effectually preclude the necessity of heavy publick taxes; that the inveterate party spirit, which agitates and disgraces some states in the Union, is here utterly unknown; the odious distinctions of whig and tory, federal and antifederal, being entirely out of use: that the class of citizens, who *modestly* pretend to possess more political wisdom, sagacity, and patriotism, than the legislative and executive branches of the federal government combined, have made little progress in any attempts to sow the seeds of disaffection and sedition among their brethren: that the state is progressing, though with great *caution* and *circumspection*, in liberal policy; and that its situation is, in every respect, more prosperous and flourishing than at any former period. It may, with truth, be added, that this situation is very generally acknowledged to be one of the many happy effects, which have resulted from the adoption of the federal constitution, and from the enlightened policy, which has so conspicuously directed its administration.

OBSERVATIONS

Exeter, April 20, 1795.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE INDIANS IN THE SOUTHERN PARTS OF THE UNITED STATES, IN A LETTER FROM THE HON. DR. RAMSAY, CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. MARCH 10, 1795.

WE here consider the Indians as a people who cannot be civilized; who do not increase, but decrease; so that their extinction is contemplated by our most reflecting citizens. I once regarded this opinion as unphilosophical, and brought forward by interested men, grasping at their lands; but more recent experience has nearly brought me over to a belief that they will ere long cease to be a people. Our back-country settlers generally say, that to tame wolves is as impracticable as to civilize Indians. It is certain that every attempt, hitherto made, has failed. The President of the United States is labouring hard to introduce agriculture and civilization among them; but his success is more to be wished than expected.

The effects of climate are not so visible on our southern Indians as might be expected. Their manners and habits do not differ so much from those of your Indians, as the manners and habits of the whites. The reason, perhaps, in part, may be, that as all our Indians inhabit far to the westward, the sensible qualities of the air are not different from the sensible qualities of that on your western mountains. The back country of all these states is very much alike. The influence of heat, and of a low flat country, is not to be observed among our western settlers, whether white or red. I am therefore of opinion, that you may apply the observations made near home, on your own Indians, to ours, and generally to all that live at a distance from the sea-coast. Mountain air and cold are nearly the same in both cases.

Respecting the population of the Indians, I applied to Mr. Purcell, who, in the year 1780, resided among them, and have got from him the intelligence which is here inclosed.

"The population of the Muskogee Indian nation, commonly called the Creeks, including the Seminola tribe, was, in the year 1780, - - - - - - - 17,280
of which were gun-men - - - - - 5,860
The Chactaw nation, at that time, consisted of 13,423
of which were gun-men - - - - - 4,141

The

The Chicasaw nation were - - - -	2,290
of which were gun-men - - - -	575
The Cherokee nation were - - - -	8,550
of which were gun-men - - - -	2,800
The Catabaw nation were - - - -	490
of which were gun-men - - - -	150

The above red nations have increased in a small degree since the general peace established among them in the year 1777.

"The great quantities of adulterated and poisonous spirituous liquors, and the venereal distemper, introduced among them by the whites, check, in a great degree, the increase of population.

"The whites incorporated among these Indians, are very few in number. But there is a number of *vagabond* white men, that make a temporary residence among them, and go from tribe to tribe, as their restless disposition leads them.

"The best author on Indian affairs is Mr. ADAIR, whose history of Indian affairs was published in the year 1775."

[N. B. MR. ADAIR'S *book would be an acceptable present to the Historical Society.*]

OBSERVATIONS AND CONJECTURES ON THE ANTIQUITIES OF AMERICA, BY THE REV. JACOB BAILEY, OF ANNAPOLIS-ROYAL, IN NOVA-SCOTIA.

Annapolis-Royal, April 10, 1795.

REV. SIR,

I HAVE just perused the first volume of your American Biography, with that approbation and pleasure, which must always attend researches, conducted with judgment, and communicated with impartiality and candor.

But since your sentiments, respecting those intrenchments, discovered in various parts of the interior continent, seem to coincide with mine; I beg your indulgence to a few observations.

I early imbibed an opinion, that America, in remoter ages, had been more populous and enlightened, than at the period when the European settlements commenced.

With this persuasion, I had, for more than twenty years, been making collections of many curious particulars, relative to the original inhabitants; but during the late political revolution, was unfortunate enough to lose most of my papers;

pers ; and all that I am able, at this distance, to offer upon the subject, is from recollection.

From the most authentick information we are able to obtain, it appears that the nations, north of the Mexican empire, were on the decline, before any foreign adventurers came among them : And from that period, to the middle of the present century, it is acknowledged, they have rapidly decreased.

Attempts have been made, by Charlevoix, Dr. Robertson, and others, to account for this diminution, some of which are by no means satisfactory.

War, famine, and pestilence, are reckoned the principal scourges, in the hand of Providence, for the chastisement of guilty nations : But the natural increase of mankind must be impeded, either by some concealed, or apparent cause.

The inhabitants of New-England, notwithstanding frequent wars, losses by sea, and certain malignant disorders, which frequently swept away multitudes of young people, were allowed to double every twenty-five years ; and, if I rightly remember, in 1775, the numbers were estimated at 740,000, which, at the same rate of increase, would in two centuries amount to one hundred and ninety-nine millions ; and supposing there was only one human pair in America at the birth of our Saviour, they would, by the above proportion, have multiplied to two thousand millions ; which increase would be more than twice the computed number of inhabitants upon the earth ; and in nine hundred years, would furnish every square mile of the habitable globe with three thousand four hundred persons.

These calculations, I apprehend, will afford a probable argument, that the world was fully peopled within a thousand years after the general deluge ; and consequently, that America was not destitute of inhabitants at that early period.

The complexion of the Indians, their visage, air, and want of expression, so different from the rest of mankind, indicate an original race,* conducted hither by some influence, or means of transportation, to us entirely unknown.

If this should be admitted, there must doubtless have existed, in North-America, many centuries ago, nations powerful, extensive and populous, who had made improvements in various branches of useful knowledge. It

* From the authorities you have produced, and from the relations of modern travellers, there is, in the northern region of America, another race, who doubtless, in more recent ages, emigrated from Lapland or Norway.

It seems to be the design of providence that some nations should remain in a state of uncultivation, to become the executioners of divine indignation, upon those civil societies whose irreclaimable impiety, injustice, and dissolute manners, demand the severest correction. At this crisis, these barbarians, fierce, enterprizing, intrepid, and cruel, firmly disciplined for excursion, plunder and carnage, and perhaps stimulated by the prospect of famine, burst like an impetuous torrent, upon their polished and more effeminate neighbours, involving in destruction, all their monuments of industry, art, and refinement. If a spirited resistance is made, extirpation often becomes the consequence of a victory; and in case of timid submission, the most humiliating and servile dependence ensues. What is more depressing than to become a slave to savages?

Tribes or nations, of the above character, have, in all ages, spread terror, havock, and desolation, through the highly improved regions of the world.

In Europe, the Goths, Vandals, Huns, and Saxons, subverted the Roman and Grecian empires, and ignorance and barbarity erected a dominion which lasted almost a thousand years. In Asia, the Tartars and Arabians destroyed millions of their more improved fellow creatures. And perhaps America may have produced fierce and adventurous tribes, who formerly invaded and overthrew flourishing kingdoms, where arts, sciences, and population, had made great advancement. The victorious invaders might have exterminated the vanquished nation, and doubtless, in such ferocious and successful movements, have destroyed every memorial of its former power, opulence and grandeur; whilst the fugitives, which escape the general massacre, are incorporated with other tribes. Instances of this nature occur in *Dupratz's* history of Louisiana.

We may further observe, that several countries are at present sunk into ignorance and barbarity, whose ancestors were, in remote ages, distinguished by learning, eloquence, and politeness of manners; as for instance, the Egyptians, Greeks, and the nations between the Pontic and Caspian seas.

With regard to the above-mentioned intrenchments, might they not have been regular fortifications or citadels, into which the inhabitants of the adjacent towns and villages retired for protection, in times of imminent danger?

These

These erections, composed of earth, though greatly diminished, by age and accident, will, I am persuaded, exhibit their original form much longer, than fabricks, or even walls, constructed with brick and stone.

We have some evidence of this at Annapolis. The ramparts and fosses formed by the French, in the last century, are still entire, whilst the latter built, but unrepaired structures of the above solid materials, are almost crumbled into dust, and covered with herbage.

For when such edifices are broken down, and exposed to the alternate influence of the sun, rain and frost, they quickly begin to moulder into minute fragments. Some kinds of marble, however, when well polished, will continue undissolved to a more extensive period, than the granite, lime, and freestone of America; especially in Egypt, the deserts of Palmyra, and in other countries, where it seldom rains, and frost never penetrates.

The interiour parts of America are but thinly peopled by European planters. The country is generally overspread with immense forests; and when settlements are commenced, situations are chosen which promise convenient and speedy improvements, and our researches seldom extend beneath the surface of the earth.

Cities overthrown, and wholly deserted, however elegant and supurb their structures might be, must, at the conclusion of three or four centuries, exhibit a dreary appearance. A rocky and uneven surface will present itself, covered with impenetrable thickets, infested with noxious animals, and so difficult to subdue as to reject every idea of cultivation. And if we allow the destruction to have been effected ten or twelve hundred years ago, the ruins will probably become invisible.

The vestiges of many cities, famous in the records of antiquity, cannot, at the present day, by the most curious inspector be discerned. But in places where the rage of earthquakes and volcanoes never reached, by digging, buildings, pavements, and other exhibitions of human art and industry, are displayed.

The first cultivators of a country are not commonly men of learning; and being engaged, by laborious exertions, to acquire immediate subsistence, they have neither inclination nor leisure to make curious inquiries. And should any monument of ancient ingenuity be by accident discovered it

it might excite a momentary wonder, and then be thrown aside, as a piece of useless lumber, and remain forever without the inspection of any person of proper skill and information.

I am convinced that many artificial productions may be found in North America, which exceed the contrivance and ability of the existing generation of Indians: something of this nature, I conceive, has fallen under my own observation.

About thirty-five miles distance from the mouth of the Kennebeck, and sixty rods to the west of the river, in the midst of an extensive plain, there arises an hill; its base, I conjecture, is six hundred feet in circumference, and its perpendicular height fifty. It is entirely composed of stones, intermingled with earth and sand, and in many places covered with shrubs and bushes. Its summit is a flat surface, near twenty feet in diameter, and exhibits a kind of pavement of large smooth stones.

Thus it appeared twenty-five years ago. And we were further induced to consider it as an artificial erection, because the surrounding lands, at some distance, were wholly destitute of stones; some, indeed, which resembled them in hardness and colour, were found on the beaches of the river.

That civilized nations once existed in America, may be presumed by the structure of several Indian languages, which, instead of consisting mostly of monosyllables, supposed to prevail among rude and uncultivated people, their words are generally composed of many syllables, and are often very lengthy.

Again: From several sources of information, we may conclude that the Indians had formerly a method of conveying knowledge by Hieroglyphicks. Some of these characters have been discovered, engraven upon large rocks, in different parts of the continent. The Mexicans inscribe their ideas upon cloth; by which means they transmit intelligence to every division of the empire.

I am assured from good authority, that the Mickmacks, of this peninsula, had the same method (upon the rind of birch) of expressing their sentiments. There is in this town, a gentleman of learning, and curious in his researches, who has not only surrounded, but travelled through the interior length of this province. He informs me, that he has seen these characters, both upon bark and paper, and that some of the Romish missionaries perfectly understand them.

Upon

Upon the whole, when a civilized nation is either exterminated or enslaved by an irruption of barbarians, who despise every art and invention which conduces to improve their minds, to polish their manners, or to soften their ferocity; that country will, in a few ages lose every expression of its ancient glory and magnificence. And those unfortunate exiles, who escaped the general carnage, by a rapid flight to rugged climates and unsubdued wilds, will be so wholly employed to procure a scanty subsistence, as quickly to forget every elegant, and even useful improvement; and their descendants will continue perfect barbarians, till some genius shall arise, or circumstance occur, to revive the arts and sciences.

And now, the best apology I can make for this lengthy epistle, is, if agreeable, an offer to transmit you some biographical anecdotes: and permit me to propose this question; Are not some of the interior tribes of Indians more numerous and improved than they were at the beginning of this century?

I am, reverend sir, with great respect and esteem, your obedient and very humble servant,

J. Bailey.

Remarks on Mr. Bailey's Letter, by the Rev. John Thornton Kirkland, of Boston.

Rev. Sir,

I HAVE been much gratified with the perusal of the letter you were so kind as to send me: which is ingenious and entertaining, if not convincing. I know little, and therefore ought to say little on the subject of it: a few ideas that occurred to me, I will suggest.

If the world were fully or chiefly peopled within a thousand years of the deluge, and consequently North-America contained "extensive, populous, and improved nations in those remote ages," it seems unaccountable that more satisfactory and copious evidence of these events should not be furnished by monuments, tradition, or history.

When the probable increase of mankind, after the deluge, is estimated by a comparison with the increase of the people of New-England, it should be inquired if the natural, civil, social, and moral state of any considerable portion of the

human race, has ever been in any measure so friendly to their population as ours; if uncivilized nations have not been generally found to make slow progress in population, and if many civilized countries have not had centuries pass over them with little addition to their numbers?

When barbarous invaders take possession of the country of an improved people, will they destroy every vestige of improvement? will they not adopt *some* of the arts and improvements of the conquered? and if they adopt for a time, will they not forever retain some of the most *necessary* arts, the use of iron and implements of tillage for instance?

Were not many opinions, practices, and improvements which pertained to the inhabitants of the Roman empire in its most enlightened and flourishing state, adopted by their savage conquerors; and retained during the most ignorant and barbarous period of the *dark ages?* and does not Egypt, degenerate as it is, exhibit many indubitable marks, in the character and customs of the people, as well as in the face of the earth, of the knowledge, arts, and opulence which it possessed three or four thousand years ago?

If the length of words in the Indian language be derived from civilived nations whom they conquered, enslaved, or incorporated with them; why would not some arts be derived with the language?

The fortifications certainly evince greater knowledge, as well as industry and patience, than the present race of northern Indians possess. I suppose there is no tradition respecting the date and the builders of them among the Indians, but that which my father declares to exist among the Senekas, who relate, that those in their territory were raised by their ancestors in their wars with the western Indians, three, four or five hundred years ago. But their uncertainty about the time of their erection, which could hardly exist, were it even five hundred years since; and the total want of tradition respecting them with other tribes on the continent, are circumstances among others, which perhaps justify the suspicion that this story originated in *national vanity*, for which the Senekas are distinguished, rather than truth; or even a belief of its reality.

I do not know but it may afford some sort of solution to the question respecting the builders of these entrenchments, if we suppose that the original inhabitants of New Spain, from

from their improved state when first discovered by Europeans, were many conturies ago capable of such works; and in those migrations from the north and north-west, which it is said they universally believe, and declare their ancestors to have made, raised them, for defence against each other; or against the incursions of the barbarous predecessors of the present northern Indians.

To the query in the last page, I am not able to give a correct answer. All the northern Indians, who have held any commercial intercourse with the whites, have improved in dress, mode of living, arts of hunting, war, and tillage; but I believe it is agreed by all who have had opportunities to observe, that they have generally diminished in numbers, and degenerated in vigour. I am, &c.

J. T. Kirkland.

May 1, 1795.

An Account of the Church of Christ in Plymouth, the first Church in New-England, from its Establishment to the present Day. By John Cotton, Esq. Member of said Church.

(Written in 1760.*)*

THE dealings of God with our ancestors of precious memory, the first settlers of New-England, were truly wonderful and surprizing; the grounds of their enterprize, the hazards they run, and the difficulties they encountered in England, Holland, on the seas, and in their first entering, and after-establishment, in this waste and howling wilderness, are well recounted in Dr. Mather's Magnalia, Mr. Morton's New-England memorial, and other writings of eminent men, who have given us an account of those early times. The design of this appendix is to give some brief relation of Plymouth church in particular; its first establishment, preservation, growth, its principles and practices, and the several pastors with which it has been favoured; and other things that may not only satisfy curiosity, but be of use to the present and after generations, taken chiefly from the records of said church, compiled by secretary Morton, and continued by some of the pastors.

In the year 1620, a considerable number of pious people, after a tedious voyage from Holland, but last from England, arrived

arrived at Cape-Cod, November 11. And after diligent search for a convenient place for settlement, they set down upon a spot called by the Indians Patuxet, and by them New-Plymouth, being named in grateful remembrance of the christian friends they found at Plymouth in England, the last town they left in their native land. Here they began to build huts and cottages to protect themselves from the inclemency of the winter; and with much difficulty they weathered out the cold season, though near half their company (and among the rest Mr. John Carver, a deacon of the church, and their first elected governour, a man of singular piety and usefulness) died: the Indians in the mean time standing aloof, being small in number, having been almost all destroyed by a terrible plague three or four years before, and being deterred for fear of retaliation of the injuries done to some fishermen and traders in former years.

These first inhabitants of this new world immediately formed themselves into a body politick, for the orderly carrying on civil affairs; but they did not embody into a new church-state, looking upon it as unnecessary, as being a branch of the English church at Leyden in Holland, under the pastoral care of that worthy and excellent man, Mr. John Robinson, and they expected the pastor and the rest of the church soon to follow them into this wilderness. For some time after their arrival, they were destitute of a teaching elder; but that want was well supplied (as to the teaching part) by their venerable ruling elder, Mr. William Brewster, a man of considerable parts and learning (being educated at the university of Cambridge) as well as of great piety: who used to preach to them during a vacancy and want of other means; and sometimes when they had a teaching elder, till his death, which was about 23 years after their first settlement in the country.

I find that the want of sacraments was early objected against them by adversaries in England. To which they sent this answer verbatim, (as recorded in the church records): "The "more is our grief that our pastor is kept from us, by whom "we might enjoy them, for we used to have the Lord's-sup-"per every sabbath, and baptism as often as there was oc-"casion of children to baptize."

By several cross providences, the rest of the church, that were left behind in Holland, did not rejoin them for several years;

years; and their much valued pastor, Mr. Robinson, whom they had long waited for, died there March 1, 1624, 5, aged near 50, to their great grief and disappointment, being one of the most celebrated divines of the age. The chief obstruction to his and their coming was the opposition of several of the merchant adventurers in England, who not liking their principles of strictness in religion (apprehending that it would hinder the growth of the plantation, by keeping many back from settling with them) would not provide shipping and money; and they were unable to do it themselves, being brought low, partly by persecution in their own, and the difficulty of subsisting in a foreign country. However, a considerable number of them, viz. about 35 families, were at last transported hither in the year 1629, at the charge of their brethren here, which was cheerfully borne by them, though it amounted to about five hundred pounds sterling. The same year, several other godly persons, some of whom had been of Mr. Lothrop's church in England, came over and joined with them. So that the church of Plymouth, through the goodness of God about this time, became pretty numerous and flourishing, although in regard of ministry it was low with them.

In March, 1623, 4, one John Lyford, a minister, came into the country, being sent by some of the adventurers to hinder Mr. Robinson. The church improved him in preaching for some time, and were liberal and generous to him and family, while he behaved well: But discovering him to be a vile man, and an enemy to the plantation, as is at large recited in the New-England memorial, he was discarded and banished hence; and after spending two or three years among some straggling settlers in the Massachusetts, went to Virginia, where he soon dies miserably.

In the year 1628, a young man, named Rogers, was sent over to be their minister, without any invitation from the church; who, having smarted in Lyford's case were become cautious of improving ministers without personal knowledge, or sufficient recommendation. They, however, made some trial of him; and soon perceiving him disordered in brain, they were at considerable charge to send him back the next year; and after his departure, he grew quite delirious.

Not long after, Mr Ralph Smith, another minister, came from the Massachusetts, and was kindly entertained; and after

after some time of trial was chosen to be their pastor, being a grave man, and continued in the ministry here about 5 or 6 years. But finding him to be a man of low gifts and parts, they, as providence gave opportunity, improved others as his assistants; particularly Mr. Roger Williams (a young man of bright accomplishments, but of unstable judgment) who preached among them for about three years: But at last, beginning to vent some errors which were offensive to the church, they, at his desire, gave him a dismission to Salem, where, being called to office, he more openly propagated his principles, and did much mischief, as the ecclesiastical histories of the country give an account. The next year after Mr. Williams's departure, (which was anno 1634,) Mr. Smith also resigned his ministry, partly of his own accord, as thinking it too heavy a burden, and partly at the desire and by the persuasion of others, who apprehended him not sufficiently gifted for the work.

During the time of Mr. Smith's ministry, they employed Mr. Edward Winslow, who was sent an agent to England, to procure them a teaching elder to be joined with Mr. Smith; who accordingly agreed with Mr. Glover, an able dispenser of the word, to come over to them; but he ended his life in London before he came on board. Afterwards, Mr. Winslow providentially meeting with that worthy man, Mr. John Norton, then intending for New-England, he treated with him about supplying Plymouth; and coming over in the same ship with Mr. Winslow, he landed here, and preached to them for one Winter, but declined settling, though earnestly pressed to it. In the Spring he went into the Massachusetts colony, and soon after settled at Ipswich; from whence, upon Mr. Cotton's death, he was translated to Boston.

Thus was this poor church disappointed, from time to time, in their attempts to settle the gospel and ordinances among them to their full satisfaction. "But it pleased the Lord, at last, (as the record expresses it), to send them Mr. John Reyner, an able and a godly man, of a meek and humble spirit, sound in the truth, and every way unreprovable in his life and conversation; who, after some time of trial, they chose for their teacher, the fruit of whose labours they enjoyed many years, with much comfort in peace and agreement."

The deacons that officiated in his day were Mr. John Doane,

Doane, Mr. William Paddy, Mr. John Cooke,* and afterwards Mr. John Donham: And before his time was Mr. Samuel Fuller, an eminent surgeon, and a man of great piety, who, together with governour Carver, were chosen to that office while the church resided in Holland. After their arrival here, the deacons they first elected were Messrs. Richard Masterson and Thomas Blossom, two experienced saints, the former especially, a man of rare abilities, a second Stephen, to defend the truth against gainsayers, and one who had expended most of his estate for the publick good. These blessed servants of Christ lived not long after they were chosen, but changed this life for a better, within a little time one of another, before the year 1630.

In the year 1632, a number of the brethren inhabiting on the other side of the bay, at a place since called Duxborough, growing weary of attending the worship of God at such distance, asked and were granted a dismission; and soon after, being embodied into a church, they procured the Rev. Mr. Ralph Partridge, (a gracious man of great abilities), to be their pastor.

The second church that sprang out of the bowels of the church of Plymouth, was that of Greens Harbour, (first called Rexham by the General Court, afterwards Marshfield), who who were incorporated soon after Duxborough, and had Mr. Edward Buckley, (an able and faithful preacher), for their pastor. A considerable number also of Scituate church derived from hence, and settled Mr. John Lathrop as their minister; who, sometime after, with a great part of the church, removed to Barnstable.

In the year 1638, the church used many endeavors to obtain Mr. Charles Chauncy, a very learned and godly man, to be a colleague with Mr. Reyner; the one to officiate as teacher, the other as pastor, according to the distinction used in those days,† founded upon Eph. iv. 11. But which the generality of the churches since suppose to be synonymous phrases, or to indicate the same office. Mr. Chauncy accordingly came and preached with them the most part of three years, but declined settling, the church and he being of

* This Cooke was afterwards excommunicated by the church, having first been the author of much dissention and division both in this church and the church of Barnstable, and afterwards running into sectarian and anabaptistical principles, in which he remained obstinate, notwithstanding all the endeavours used with him.

† The teacher, according to them, was chiefly to explain doctrines; the pastor to enforce them with suitable counsels and exhortations.

of a different mind about the mode of baptism, which he held ought to be by *dipping or plunging the whole body under water.* Much pains were taken to remove his scruples, several ministers conferring with him, and writing to him, upon that head, but without success. And at last, the church (being loth to lose a man of such eminency), conceded so far as to offer, in case he should settle, to suffer him to practice according to his pursuasion, by administering the ordinance in that manner to such as desired it, either for themselves or infants, provided he could peaceably suffer Mr. Reyner to baptise according to the mode in general use, when it was requested; so as there might be no disturbance in the church about the matter. But he did not see light to comply. So that there was a necessity of parting. He went from hence to Scituate, where he, for some time, remained a minister to the church there, and was afterwards elected president of the college.

Sometime after this, (viz. about the year 1643, or 1644), many having left the town by reason of the straitness and barrenness of the place, and their finding better accomodations elsewhere; and sundry others still, upon every occasion, desiring their dismissions, the church began seriously to think whether it were not better jointly to remove to some other place, than to be thus weakened, and as it were insensibly dissolved. Many meetings and much consultation were held about the premises, and there was a great diversity of sentiments; some were still for staying together in this place, alledging that they might live here well enough, if they would be content with their condition; and that it was not for want or necessity so much that they proposed a removal as to enrich themselves. Others were resolute upon removal, and declared that if the whole church would not go, they would go by themselves. So that at last, to prevent a dissolution, a remove was universally agreed to, if a fit place could be found that might more conveniently and comfortably receive the whole, with such accession of others as might come to them for their better strength and subsistence. And sundry places being propounded, and among others, Nauset, near Câpe-Cod, which had been superficially viewed, they fixed upon this last: and sent a number for further discovery, and also to make a purchase from the natives; who, upon better view, found the place too strait

strait for their purpose, not being sufficient to accommodate the whole church for the present, much less to leave room for further addition or increase. Besides, its situation was too much on the outside of the country, remote from all society, and so wholly unfit to be the motropolis of the government; however, they thought proper to purchase the place of the Indians. The committee returning with this report, the church changed their resolutions: But such as were before resolved upon removal, took advantage of the general agreement above specified, and went on notwithstanding; neither could the rest hinder them, they having made some beginning, and agreeing to pay for the whole purchase, which was made in the church's name. And thus was this poor church (say the records) left like an ancient mother, grown old and forsaken of her children, (though not in their affections, yet) in regard of their bodily presence and personal helpfulness; her ancient members being most of them worn away by death, and those of latter times being like children translated into other families, and she like a widow left only to trust in God. Thus "she, that had made many rich, became herself poor." The principal members that then removed were the honourable Thomas Prince, (afterwards governour,) deacon John Doane, with several others of the church, who were very desirable, and they became a body of themselves, distinct from the church of Plymouth, and settled at said Nauset, by them called Eastham. This was the third church, which came forth, as it were, out of our bowels.

In the year 1644,* died their reverend elder, Mr. William Brewster, who had done and suffered much for Christ and the gospel's sake, both in England and Holland, and in this wilderness; the Lord upheld him to a great age, being above eighty when he died. Some account of him is given in the New-England memorial, page 153, &c. To which we may add, some further hints from the records. He had the happiness of an early conversion, his heart being seasoned with grace while at the university. And after his leaving it, he was usefully employed in state affairs, for some years, under that religious gentleman, Mr. Davison, then secretary of state to queen Elizabeth, and afterwards ambassador in Holland, who found him so discreet and faithful as that he trusted

* In the New-England memorial his death is placed under the year 1643; but in the church records it is said to be April 16, 1844.

him above all others in office under him, and made use of him only when matters of greatest importance and secrecy occurred. He esteemed him rather as a son than a servant; and for his wisdom and piety would converse with him in private more like a familiar than a master. He attended Mr. Davison in his ambassy, and assisted him in all the weighty affairs of state, and was betrusted by him with the keys of Flushing, one of the cautionary towns in Holland, then garrisoned by the English: And upon their return to England, the states of the United Provinces honoured him with a gold chain for his fidelity, which his master commanded him to wear, as they passed through the country, until their arrival at court. He afterwards remained with Mr. Davison, until he was removed from his secretary's post, which was about the year 1587, and did him many offices of service in the time of his troubles which followed his removal. Afterwards he retired into the country, among his friends, in the north of England, and was highly esteemed by the gentlemen in those parts, especially the godly and religious; and did much good there in promoting and furthering religion; and that not only by his practice and example, and stirring up and encouraging others, but by procuring good preachers to the places thereabouts, and exciting many to disburse freely for the support of the gospel, he himself being most commonly deepest in the charge, and sometimes above his ability. And in this state he continued many years, doing the best good he could, and walking accordingly to the light he had, until the Lord discovered further to him the corruptions of the established church, and seeing the tyranny of the then bishops against godly preachers and others, in silencing, fining, and imprisoning them, &c. He and many more withdrew from the communion, and embodied into a church state, (having the reverend and aged Mr. Richard Clifton, and Mr. Robinson, to preach to them, the latter of which afterward became their pastor), usually meeting for solemn worship at Mr. Brewster's house on the Lord's days, where he, with great love, entertained them, being at considerable expense in making provision, &c. and continued so to do whilst they could stay in England. But, great troubles and persecutions following from the prelatick party, they determined upon a remove into Holland, in which Mr. Brewster was one of the forwardest; but all the ports and havens being shut against them,

them, they were obliged to get away secretly, and to give the mariners extraordinary fees for their transportation: A vessel being hired by him and company, they went on board in the night, at Boston, in Lincolnshire, with their goods, &c. But through the perfidiousness of the ship-master were betrayed into the hands of the searchers and other officers, who seized them all, and putting them into open boats, rifled and ransacked them at a strange rate, searching even to their very shirts for money, and even going beyond the bounds of modesty with the women; taking away their books and goods as well as money, (in which Mr. Brewster was the greatest sufferer): And then carried them back into the town where they were made a spectacle of derision to the wondering multitude, who came flocking from all quarters to see them;* and being afterwards presented to the magistrates, they were committed to ward, and an account of them transmitted to the lords of the council; who sending their orders, the greater part of them were released after a month's imprisonment, and sent back to the place of their former abode; but seven of the principal (of which Mr. Brewster was the chief) were kept still in prison, and bound over to the assizes: But at length, with much difficulty and expense, obtaining his liberty, he (with Mr. Robertson and other principal men) first assisted the weaker and poorer of the flock in getting over, and then followed them into Holland; where for sometime he suffered much hardship, most of his estate being exhausted, and his family large, having many children and dependents, and in regard to his former breeding and course, not so fit for manual labour as others were, who had been inured to it: yet he bore his condition with much cheerfulness and contentation. And the latter part of the time of his sojourning in that country, his outward condition was mended, and he lived well and plentifully: For being well versed in the Latin tongue, he set up a school, to which many scholars of the university of Leyden, and some great men's sons, resorted, to be initiated in the English language; and by his method they quickly and with great facility attained the knowledge of it, he having drawn up rules to learn it by, after the Latin manner. Besides, by the help of some friends he set up a printing press, in which he had sufficient employment,

* The records observe here, "That by these and the like publick troubles in other places, their cause became famous, and occasioned many to look into the same; and their godly carriage and christian behaviour was such, as left a deep impression in the mind of many, &c."

ment, especially of books sent over from England against the hierarchy, &c. which would not be allowed a publication at home. But at last, removing into New-England, all these things were laid aside, and he began a new course of living, in which he was no ways unwilling to take his part and bear his burden with the rest, living sometimes without bread many months together, having often nothing but fish, and sometimes even destitute of that, and drank nothing but water for many years together, yea, until five or six years of his death: And yet he lived (by the blessing of God) in health until very old age; and besides that, he would often labour with his hands in the field, as long as he was able. Yet when the church had no other minister, he taught twice every sabbath, and that both powerfully and profitably, to the great satisfaction of the hearers, and their comfortable edification; yea, many were brought to God by his ministry, doing more in this respect in a year, than many, that have their hundreds per annum, do in all their lives. He was a man of considerable abilities, both natural and acquired; was wise, discreet, and of a ready utterance, very sociable and pleasant among his friends, of a humble and modest spirit, of a peaceable disposition, undervaluing himself and his own abilities and sometimes overvaluing others; inoffensive and innocent in his life and conversation, which gained him love and respects from them without, as well as those within; yet bold and courageous in reproving the faults of others, both publickly and privately, as there was occasion, but in such a manner as was usually well taken from him. He was tender-hearted and compassionate towards any distress, especially towards such as had been of good estate and quality, and where by the providence of God reduced to want and poverty, either for religion's sake, or by the injury and oppression of others; looking upon these, of all men, most deserving pity and relief: and none did more offend and displease him than such as, being risen from nothing, and having little else to recommend them than their fine attire or riches, would behave themselves proudly and haughtily, treating others with disdain and contempt. In his publick administrations, he was very moving and pathetical, also very plain and distinct in what he taught, addressing the understanding as well as the affections, by which means be became the more profitable to the hearers. He had a singular

good

good gift in prayer, both publick and private, full and comprehensive in the confession of sin, and laying open the spiritual diseases of the soul before God, and very earnest and fervent in imploring pardoning mercy through Christ; and had an admirable dexterity in adapting his prayers to the spiritual exigencies of the flock, &c. Yet seldom lengthy or prolix in the exercise; looking upon it as much better for ministers to study brevity and comprehensiveness in that duty, except on days of humiliation, and such like solemn occasions, than to endanger the devotion of the hearers by too long a performance: the heart and spirits of all, especially of weak christians, he said, being too apt to flag and fall off, rather than continue bent towards God, as they should be, when the duty was too extended. As for the government of the church, which was most proper to his office, he was ever careful to preserve good order, and keep purity of doctrine and communion, and to suppress errors and contentions at their first appearance; and accordingly God gave good success to his endeavours herein all his days, and he saw the fruit of his labour in that regard. He, after his various distresses, died in peace upon his bed, in the midst of his weeping friends, to whom he endeavoured to administer the same divine consolations which he felt in his own soul. His sickness was not long, and till the last day was not wholly confined to his bed. His speech continued until about nine or ten hours before his death, and then failed him; and late in the evening he expired, without any pangs or gaspings, drawing his breath long, as a man falling into a sound sleep, and so sweetly departed this life into a better. He left an excellent library (for that day) valued at £43, silver money, a particular catalogue of which I find in his inventory in the colony records.

About four or five years after Mr. Brewster's decease, the church chose Mr. Thomas Cushman as his successor in the office of ruling elder, son of that faithful servant of Christ, Mr. Robert Cushman, who had been their chief agent in transacting all their affairs in England, both before and after their leaving of Holland, till the year 1626. And this his son, inheriting the same spirit, and being competently qualified with gifts and graces, proved a great blessing to this church; assisting Mr. Reyner, not only in ruling, catechising, visiting, but also in publick teaching, as Mr. Brewster had done

done before him: It being the professed principle of this church, in their first formation, "to choose none for governing elders but such as are able to teach:" Which ability (as Mr. Robinson observes in one of his letters) other reformed churches did not require in their ruling elders.

The year 1654 was rendered sorrowful by the departure of that worthy man of God, Mr. Reyner, from this place, after he had served Christ in the office of teacher about eighteen years. He was (says the church record) richly accomplished with such gifts and qualifications as were befitting his place and calling, being wise, faithful, grave, sober, a lover of good men, not greedy of the matters of the world, armed with much faith, patience and meekness, mixed with courage in the cause of God; was an able, faithful, laborious preacher of the gospel, and a wise orderer of the affairs of the church, and had an excellent talent in training up children, in a catechetical way, in the grounds of the christian religion. So that by loss of him, ignorance ensued in the town among the vulgar, and also much licentiousness and profaneness among the younger sort. His removal was partly occasioned by the unhappy differences then subsisting in the church of Barnstable, which much affected this church; and partly by the going away of divers of the church, yea some of the most eminent among them, to other places; and partly by the unsettledness of the church, too many of the members being leavened with prejudice against a learned ministry, by means of sectaries then spreading through the land; an epidemical disease prevailing in too many of the churches about that time. He left Plymouth in the month of November, 1654, and went to Boston, where he continued that Winter, and came back the Spring following in way of visit, and would have easily been persuaded to have returned again, if the people would have complied with a proposition made by him: But they not doing it, to their after-sorrow, he went back; and being invited to Dover, on Piscataqua river, he there settled in the ministry, and continued in the work till his death, which was in the month of April, 1669.

During these ancient times of the church, I find them surrounded with dangers and difficulties on every hand: The troubles they met with, in regard to the ministry, have been recounted; besides which, they had frequently great troubles from want of subsistence, from the threatening of the natives, from

from losses at sea, from pestilential sicknesses, &c. And once or twice they were threatened with total dissipation from the authority in England; particularly in the year 1634, archbishop Laud, (that great persecutor of Calvinists and Dissenters, under the name of Puritans), obtained a commission from king Charles the 1st, under the great seal of England, wherein he, together with the archbishop of York, and ten more of the great officers of the court,* (wholly at Laud's devotion, and some of them known Papists), were empowered "to revoke all the charters, letters-patents, and "rescripts royal, before granted from the crown to the several "colonies and plantations, and to make such laws and constitutions as to them should seem meet; to remove and "displace the several governours and rulers of those colonies "for causes which to them should seem lawful, and others in "their stead to constitute, and to punish those of them that "were culpable by mulcts and fines, or banishment from "those places they had governed, or otherwise to punish according to the degree of their offence: To remove any of "those colonies, (as well as their rulers), causing them to "return to England, or commanding them to other places "designated, as according to their sound discretions should "seem necessary; And to constitute judges and magistrates, "political and civil, for civil causes, and to fix upon such a "form of government as to five or more of them should "seem expedient. And also to make laws and constitutions "ecclesiastical; and to ordain spiritual courts, to determine "of the form and manner of proceeding in the same, and "the method of appeals, &c. To assign congruent portions "of tythes, oblations, and other things, for the maintenance "of the clergy. And to make provision against the violation "of any of their constitutions, by imposing penalties, by "imprisonment, and if the quality of the offence require it, "by deprivation of members or life, to be inflicted, &c."

This arbitrary commission (which made the country no better than slaves†) is recorded at large by Mr. Morton in the

* Their names are as follows; William, archbishop of Canterbury; Thomas, lord Coventry, keeper of the great seal; Richard, Archbishop of York: Richard Weston, earl of Portland, lord high treasurer; Henry, earl of Manchester, keeper of the privy seal; Thomas, earl of Arundel, and surveyor marshal of England; Edward, earl of Dorser, chamberlain to the Queen; Francis, lord Cottington, under treasurer of the exchequer; Sir Thomas Edmonds, treasurer of the king's household; Sir Henry Vane, controler of the same; Sir John Cooke, the king's privy secretary; Sir Francis Windebank, ditto.

† There is not the least mention, thoughout the whole commission, that the laws and ordinances enacted by them should be agreeable to the laws of England; the only limitation is, that the king's assent should be had thereto in writing, under his signet royal.

the church records; and says he, "I have done it, that after-ages may improve it as an experiment of God's goodness in preventing its taking effect, which had it done, this poor church at Plymouth (with the other churches of New-England) had been destroyed. Surely it was the Lord's work in a special manner, and it is, and ought to be, marvellous in our eyes; and it is our duty to render praises to his name for the same through all generations." A sketch of it is now published to the world, because I do not remember to have met with it in any printed author. In pursuance of this commission, Sir Ferdinando Gorges was, by the archbishop's favour, constituted general governour of the country, and was about to be dispatched to his government the year following, accompanied by some that were to be furnished with episcopal authority to disturb the peace of the churches and destroy their constitution. But Mr. Edward Winslow being sent over agent for the country about that time, by his indefatigable endeavours, and the influence of some great men, the storm was diverted, though it fell heavy upon Mr. Winslow, who, by the archbishop's procurement, was committed to the fleet prison in London, where he remained about seventeen weeks before he could obtain his release.* A specimen of what the people here must have expected, had not the commission before mentioned been superseded.

A few years after, the church was threatened by the coming over of some sectaries from England, leavened with Antinomian and Familistical principles, as the N. E. memorial at large relates. Some of Plymouth church was led away, particularly one John Weeks and his wife, who in some short time became very atheists, and were cast out of the church for

* The case was this, the pestilent Thomas Morton (who had broken up the settlement at Mount Wallaston, since Braintree, and was the ringleader in setting up the idolatrous Maypole, &c. of which in New-England memorial, p. 95.) was improved by archbishop Laud, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and Mr. Mason, to make complaint against the country before the lords commissioners for the plantations; to whose complaints Mr. Winslow made answer to the good satisfaction of the said lords, who gave Morton a shrewd check, and blamed the others for countenancing him. This nettling the archbishop, he immediately called Mr. Winslow into question for something personal, namely, that being a layman he had assumed the ministerial office; 1st, in teaching publicly in the church; 2d, in marrying people. And for this Morton was produced as an evidence; who testified that he had seen and heard him do it while he lived in New-England. To which Mr. Winslow answered, as the 1st, that sometimes, being destitute of a minister, he did exercise his gift to help the edification of his brethren, when better means could not be had. And as to the 2d, he acknowledged that he had married some, but he did it as a magistrate, not as a minister; that marriage was a civil ordinance, and he no where found, in the word of God, that it was tied to the ministry; that necessity obliged them to it, having for a long time together at first no minister; that the thing itself was no novelty in the reformed churches, he himself having been married by the magistrate in Holland, in their state-house. These answers not satisfying, the archbishop, by vehement importunity, procured their lordship's consent to his commitment, upon these and the like charges.

for their abominable opinions. Several young people also, belonging to the church, had like to have been carried aside into the paths of darkness, but God in mercy prevented. This was in the year 1637.

Some considerable time after this, one Samuel Hickes, a member of the church, began to be unsettled about the ordinances of the gospel, and questioned several of them, about baptizing of infants, singing of psalms, the office of ministers, the institution of a sabbath, &c. which occasioned a church meeting, wherein Hickes proposed to the church several queries on these and other heads; to which the church returned large answers in writing; both which are recorded in the church records, taking up about 4 or 5 pages in folio. The issue was, this poor unsettled man fell yet further and further, and at last became a Quaker.

This leads me to observe, that the Quakers much infested the country between the years 1650 and 1660, and proved very troublesome,* and subverted many; the church of Plymouth, in particular, was much endangered by them; several were wavering and hesitating, one family only was wholly led away. The Lord was pleased to bless the endeavours of their faithful elder, Mr. Cushman, in concurrence with several of the abler brethren, to prevent the efficacy of errour and delusion; and (though destitute of a pastor) the body of the church were upheld in their integrity, and in a constant opposition to their pernicious tenets. "And we desire (say the records) that the good providence of God herein may never be forgotten, but that the Lord may have all the praise and glory thereof: For how easily might these wolves in sheeps cloathing have ruined this poor flock of Christ, if the Lord had not interposed with his almighty power and goodness; improving this our good elder as a special instrument in this worthy work, both by teaching the will of God every Lord's-day, for a considerable time, plainly, powerfully and profitably; and seconding the same by a blameless life and conversation."

After Mr. Reyner's departure, the church remained sundry years destitute of a teaching elder, notwithstanding the great pains and endeavours that were used to obtain one; sending frequently to the ministers of the Massachusetts on this errand,

* Here may be observed, to the honor of this colony, that though the provocations of the Quakers were equally great here as elsewhere, yet they never made any sanguinary or capital laws against that sect, as some of the colonies did.

and keeping many days of fasting and prayer for the divine aid and direction. But still they were not destitute of preaching, the neighbouring ministers frequently coming to their assistance; but more statedly the worship of God was carried on by their elder, Mr. Cushman, assisted by some of the brethren; insomuch that not one sabbath past (during the vacancy) without two publick meetings, in which the word of God was dispensed. After some considerable time, they obtained Mr. James Williams, an able gospel preacher, and had hopes at his first coming of his continuance with them; but he soon left them, and went for England. Afterwards they procured Mr. William Brimsmead, a well-accomplished servant of Christ, who preached to them several months, but he at last left them also, and settled at Marlborough, in the Massachusetts. This was about the years 1664, 1665, & 1666.

"And thus (says Mr. Morton) we remained as sheep without a shepherd, until at length it pleased the Lord to send among us Mr. John Cotton, the son of Mr. John Cotton, that famous gospel preacher, late teacher of the first church of Christ in Boston. The said Mr. Cotton, jun. was a man of strong parts and good abilities to preach the word of God, who, after some time spent among us, was chosen our pastor, and has continued in that station among us for the space of ten years and upwards, at the writing hereof; from whom we have received many very profitable truths, and who ought to be the subject of our prayers, that the Lord would inspire him more and more with his Holy Spirit, so as he may be an instrument of his praise, that so by soundness of doctrine and sincerity of conversation, he may be enabled instrumentally to save his own soul, and the souls of those that have or may hear him.

"Thus the Lord hath built this church, and preserved it in gospel order and holy profession of his truth these three-score and twelve years, twelve years in Holland, and three-score years in New-England, and hath carried it through many dangers, sorrows, persecutions, and oppositions, so as it remains, although much inferiour to its first beginning, yet a church of Jesus Christ; having many names in it who have not defiled their garments, who no doubt will walk with Christ in white, for they are worthy, Rev. iii. 4. Yea, the Lord in former times hath made it an enlightment and directory unto others, both in this colony and other

"colonies

" colonies in this land. Blessed be his holy name for the " same. And here let it be noticed, that at the writing of " this small history [anno 1680] there are fourscore churches " in the gospel order in New-England, maugre the malice of " men and devils; so greatly is the honour of the King of " kings, our Lord Jesus, advanced by the multitude of his " subjects in New England; and we doubt not but there are " many blessed saints in the land, which are fit to be laid and " placed in the Lord's building. The Lord add unto his " churches, from day to day, such as shall be saved."

Thus finish the church records, as drawn up by Mr. Morton. They were afterwards continued by Mr. Cotton, who informs us, that he was first called to Plymouth in September, 1666. But being under engagements elsewhere, he could not then come; but the church renewing their invitation the year following, he removed to Plymouth, with his family, November 30, 1667. But he was not ordained till June 30, 1669. The churches that were present at the ordination (at the desire of this church) by their elders and messengers, were those of Barnstable, Marshfield, Weymouth and Duxborough; the pastors names, Mr. Walley, Mr. Arnold, Mr. Torrey, and Mr. John Holmes.

At Mr. Cotton's first settlement, there were resident in the place forty-seven church members, in full communion; but the deacons of the church being all deceased or removed, they, on August 1, elected Mr. Robert Finney and Mr. Ephraim Morton to that office, and the elders ordained them.

Afterwards the pastor, with the ruling elder, made it their first special work together to pass through the whole town, from family to family, to inquire into the state of souls; and according as they found the frames either of the children of the church or others, so they applied counsels, admonitions, exhortations, and encouragements; which service was attended with a blessing; for in divers, with whom God had begun his work, it prevailed to stir them up to lay hold of his covenant; and others were awakened more seriously to attend upon the means of grace, and to mind the concernments of their souls, and practice family prayer more constantly. The work of God seemed in those days to have a considerable revival.

In November began catechising of the children by the pastor (constantly attended by the ruling elder) once a fortnight,

night, the males at one time and the females at the other. The catechism then used was composed by the Rev. Mr. William Perkins. Some years after the assembly's catechism was introduced.

In January following, the church agreed to begin monthly church meetings for religious conference, which were constantly attended for many years, and much good attended that exercise. I suppose the monthly meeting, that subsists to this day, was but a continuation of this, though in latter years it was put something into another form.

The members admitted to full communion, the first year of Mr. Cotton's ministry, were twenty-seven. In 1670, fourteen members were admitted. In 1671, seventeen. In 1672, six. And during the thirty years of his ministry, there were 178 members admitted. The practice was for men orally to make a confession of faith, and a declaration of their experiences of a work of grace, in the presence of the congregation; having been examined and heard before by the elders in private; and they stood propounded in publick for two or three weeks ordinarily: And the relations of the women being written in private from their mouths, were read in publick by the pastor, and the elders gave testimony of the competency of their knowledge. This was the ordinary way of admission of members at their first entrance; but if any members came from other places, and had letters of dismission, they were accepted upon that testimonial, and nothing further was required of them. In 1638, the church, at the motion of the elders, consented to some alteration of their practice: It being observed, that divers men, who offered themselves to church fellowship, were bashful, and of low voice, and so not able to speak in publick, to the edification of the congregation, nor to the hearing of the whole church; it was generally agreed, that those who could speak audibly, &c. should do so in the whole congregation, as formerly: But if the elders judged any man not capable thereof, they should call the church together in private, to hear such make their relations; but voting their admission, and covenanting with them, should be deferred to the publick assembly.

In July, 1676, the church (and all the churches in the colony, at the motion of the General Court) solemnly renewed covenant with God, and one another, on a day of humiliation appointed for the purpose; wherein, after confession

fession of the prevailing evils of the times, they entered into strict engagements (through the assistance of divine grace) for personal and family reformation. The children of the church bore a part in this transaction The covenant of reformation is recited at large in the church records, as also the whole method of carrying on the affair, which is worthy of publication; but this appendix having already far exceeded the bounds at first designed, it must be omitted. The church also renewed covenant in the like method in April, 1692; which transactions were attended with much solemnity and were of great service to the interests of vital piety, stirring up the godly to more vigilance and zeal, and laying a great restraint on the corruptions of others. They were likewise followed with divine blessings in a remarkable manner, which was much noticed by all at that day. Some motions have been made for renewals of covenant in latter years, as I find in the records, but they proved abortive; which is too speaking an evidence of prevailing degeneracy.

A few months after the first renewal of covenant in 1676, the elders stayed the church after publick worship, and informed them, that there were rumours as if some of the brethren walked disorderly, in sitting too long together in publick houses, and with vain company, and drinking; it was therefore propounded in order to the healing of that evil, and unanimously consented to by the whole church, that they would all take themselves bound, in case they saw or heard of any such carriage in any of the church for the future, to demand a reason of the party why he so did, and that we would satisfy the demands of each other in such a case; and if any did not give satisfying answers to such sober, christian demands, it should be accounted just matter of offence. The elders also then propounded, that due care might be taken of the children of the church, that they might not transgress in this kind. The elders and brethren also bore strong testimony against such irregularities in the year 1684, with serious warnings and desires, that God would help all to more care and watchfulness in their whole conversation.

In January, 1678, 9, the pastor, Mr. Cotton, desired all the church seed, who were heads of families, to come to his house on the 19th of said month, which they generally did; and he then gave them sundry questions for them each man severally to return answers to out of the scriptures; that hereby might

might be discerned what knowledge they had of God's word. This exercise was to be attended once in two months; and so it was for divers years, not without a blessing and some good success: For men of 30, 40, 50 years of age did attend, and give their answers to those divinity questions in writing. Then the pastor, having read all their answers, gave his own to each question, and preached thereupon, the elder always present, and making the concluding prayer; and ordinarily many, if not most of the church, were then present also.

December 19, 1685, deacon Finney being disabled, through infirmities and old age, from coming abroad, Mr. Thomas Faunce was unanimously chosen deacon in his stead, and was ordained to that office soon after. Deacon Finney died about a year after, on January 7, 1687, 8, being 80 years of age, a good old man. His colleague, deacon Morton, (a serviceable man in church and town), survived until October 7, 1693. Ætat. 70.

December 11, 1691, the good elder, Mr. Thomas Cushman, died of a lingering illness, near the end of the 84th year of his life, who had officiated in that office near 43 years, being ordained April 6, 1649. He had been a rich blessing to this church scores of years; was grave, sober, holy, and temperate, very studious and solicitous for the peace and prosperity of the church, and to prevent and heal all breaches. Much of God's presence went away from this church, when this blessed pillar was removed. December 16, was kept as a day of humiliation upon the account of his death; and then a liberal contribution was made for his widow, as an acknowledgement of his great services to the church whilst living.

June 19, 1692, the pastor propounded to the church, that seeing many of the psalms in Mr. Ainsworth's translation, which had hitherto been sung in the congregation, had such difficult tunes that none in the church could set, they would consider of some expedient that they might sing all the psalms. After some time of consideration, on August 7, following, the church voted, that when the tunes were difficult in the translation then used, they would make use of the New-England psalm-book, long before received in the churches of the Massachusetts colony; not one brother opposing this conclusion. But finding it inconvenient to use two psalm-

books,

books, they at length, in June, 1693, agreed wholly to lay aside Ainsworth, and with general consent introduced the other, which is used to this day. And here it will be proper to observe, that it was their practice from the beginning, till October, 1681, to sing the psalms without reading the line; but then, at the motion of a brother, who otherwise could not join in the ordinance (I suppose because he could not read) they altered the custom, and reading was introduced; the elder performing that service, after the pastor had first expounded the psalm, which were usually sung in course: So that the people had the benefit of hearing the whole book of psalms explained.

In the spring of the year 1694, the pastor introduced a new method of catechising, (in which he used the assembly's shorter catechism), attending it on sabbath-day noons, at the meeting house, the males one sabbath and the females another, successively; and then preached on each head of divinity, as they lie in order in that catechism. This course was constantly attended for more than three years, from sabbath to sabbath, till the pastor's dismission; only on sacrament days, and in the short winter days, and very unseasonable weather, there was a necessary omission thereof. Many of the congregation usually heard the sermons preached at the catechising and God strengthened and encouraged in the work.

In March, 1694, the church chose Messrs. George Morton, Nathanael Wood, and Thomas Clark, to be deacons of the church; and nominated deacon Faunce and Mr. Isaac Cushman for elders. The deacons were in the same month ordained.

In the same year, two members of Plymouth church, viz. Mr. Jonathan Dunham and Mr. Samuel Fuller, had a call, and were ordained to the work of the ministry, the former at Edgarton, upon Martha's Vineyard, the latter at Middleborough; where a church was at the same time gathered, consisting partly of members from Plymouth. Mr. Fuller died about eight months after, August 24, 1695, aged about 66 years; a great loss to that place, (says Mr. Cotton), being a sincere godly man, and a useful preacher. He (before his settlement) had preached to them occasionally above 16 years. Mr. Isaac Cushman, another brother of this church, was invited to succeed him; but he rather chose to settle at a village

village since called Plympton, where he had an invitation at the same time.

His preaching and pressing on a settlement, and before his designation to the office of ruling elder by the church, bred some uneasiness between the pastor and church, their sentiments being diverse about the matter. And this (as I understand) laid the foundation for an after-parting. These affairs were in agitation about three years, and occasioned some considerable ferment, and the withdraw of some from the communion; and though sometimes the difference seemed to be in a measure composed, it would soon break out afresh: And this disposed the dissatisfied (as is common in such cases) the more readily to listen to such ill reports as some raised of their pastor, which added fuel to the flame. So that at length the affair came to a crisis; a council was called by mutual consent, who took great pains for a reconciliation and accommodation of differences; but not succeeding, they at last advised the pastor to ask a dismission, and the church to grant it, "with such expressions of their love and charity as the rule called for." Mr. Cotton accordingly resigned his office, and at his request was dismissed October 5, 1697, to the great grief of a number in church and town, who earnestly desired his continuance. After this, he tarried something above a year in Plymouth; in which time he preached some sabbaths at Yarmouth, upon their invitation: And then having a call to Charlestown, the chief place in South-Carolina, he accepted the same; and having made up all differences with Plymouth church, and receiving a recommendation from several ministers, he set sail for Carolina, November 15, 1698, where arriving, he gathered a church, and was very abundant and successful in his labours, as appears from a daily journal under his hand, which is yet extant, (in which are the devout breathings of a pious soul, holding daily communion with God). He died there, much lamented, on the 18th of September, following, Ætat about 60. In the short time of his continuance among them, there were about twenty-five members added to the church, (besides those first incorporated), and many baptized, it being much of an heathenish place before. He had abundant respect shown him, especially by those that were good, and also by some that were great. He was there counted worthy of, and received double honour, being (through the blessing of heaven)

heaven) a spiritual father to great numbers among them. The church there were at the charge of his burial, and in token of respect erected a handsome monument over his grave.

The same month that Mr. Cotton received his dismission, Mr. Ephraim Little had an invitation to preach to them, whose labours gave general satisfaction ; and after some time, they gave him a call to settle among them, which he accepting, was ordained October 4, 1699, after he had preached to them near two years. The churches assisting at the ordination were those of Weymouth, Marshfield, Duxborough, and the second in Plymouth.

This second church in the town had been formed about a twelve-month before, and Mr. Isaac Cushman was ordained their pastor, who afterwards proved a useful instrument of building up Christ's kingdom. This was the fourth church derived from us, seated at a place since called Plympton.

In April, 1699, the church chose deacon Thomas Faunce their ruling elder, to be helpful to Mr. Little in church affairs ; and he was ordained to that office by Messieurs Little and Cushman, October 25, 1699. He lived to a very advanced age, being in his 99th year when he died, which was on February 27, 1745,6. He was a man of considerable knowledge, eminent piety, and great usefulness, always full of religious discourse.

In May, 1706, this church, and all the churches in the province, had a contribution for the island of St. Christophers, which had been lately insulted and ravaged by the French. The contribution was large, considering the remoteness of the place, and our little connection with it.

February 6, 1707,8, at a church meeting, the pastor proposed to the church the setting up private family meetings, in the respective neighbourhoods in the town, for family and other spiritual exercises, which was approved and agreed upon.

On the 3d of June, 1715, the meeting-house here (which was erected anno 1683) was struck, and very much rent, by a terrible clap of thunder. The same week, a day of fasting and prayer was kept upon the account of the great sickness and mortality prevailing in the town, above forty dying within a little time ; and behold a gracious God so far heard the cries of his people, that the sickness abated, and there was no death for many weeks after. O that men would praise the Lord for his goodness! In

In the spring of the year 1716, the church unanimously chose Messrs. John Foster and John Atwood to the office of deacons: But the pastor questioning the lawfulness or expediency of ordination in such cases, declined it for a time; at which the majority of the church being much dissatisfied, he at last conceded to give them a solemn charge, but without the imposition of hands; which was done accordingly, with the church's consent. November 11, the pastor beginning with prayer, and the elder concluding.

July 19, 1718, Ephraim, the son of Eleazer Holmes, was baptized on a saturday at his house; it being at the point of death, and died about six hours after. This being the first instance of that nature in the town, viz. of any baptized privately, the pastor sets down the grounds of the proceeding as follows: "1st, The child was undeniably a proper subject of baptism, (even agreeable to the ancient practice in Plymouth), the mother being in full communion. 2d, I never could find that baptism (viz. the administration of it) is any where in scripture limited to the sabbath, or a publick assembly: And I always had a greater regard to the scripture, than the custom or practice of any minister or church, &c."

In or about the year 1717, the north part of the town was set off into a distinct society, and settled Mr. Joseph Stacey as their minister, who lived till 1741. This was the fifth church springing from us. They were made a township anno 1724, and named Kingston. After Mr Stacey's death, first Mr. Maccarty, and then Mr. Rand, were settled in the ministry among them.

November 23, 1723, the Rev. Mr. Little died, after having been in the pastoral office here about twenty-four years, and in the 48th year of his age, and lies buried at Plymouth; being the first minister that was buried here, after 103 years settlement of the place. "He was a gentleman "more inclined to the active, than the studious life; "but yet did a great deal of service here as a minister, being "one of a good memory, a quick invention; having an ex- "cellent gift in prayer, and in occasional performances also "excelling. But what can never be sufficiently commended, "was the generosity of his spirit, and his readiness to help "all that were in distress, &c."*

After

* This character of him is extracted from some manuscript memoirs, written by one contemporary with him.

After Mr. Little's decease, and the ministers of the neighbourhood had taken their turns in supplying the pulpit, Mr. Nathanael Leonard was chosen to succeed him on the 13th of February, 1723,4 ; he accepted the call March 19, and was solemnly ordained to the work of the ministry on the 29th of July following. The churches sent to, most of which were assisting, were that of Taunton, Cambridge, Situate south church, Marshfield, Duxborough, Norton, Plymouth 2d church, Pembrooke, Middleborough, Bridgewater north and south churches, and Sandwich.

January 22, 1727,8, the church elected Mr. Haviland Torrey and Mr. Thomas Clark to the office of deacons. March 18, deacon Clark died, and on the 29th of December deacon Torrey was ordained, with prayer and imposition of hands.

December 2, 1731, after several years consideration, the church voted their consent to the synod's propositions in 1662, relating to the subjects of baptism ; it being ever their practice, before, to admit only the children of communicants to baptism.

January 31, 1733,4, at the motion of the pastor, the church unanimously voted to desire the deacons to catechise the children between meetings on the sabbath, as soon as the days were sufficiently lengthened ; to ask them four or five questions a time, till they had learnt the catechism through. This the deacons complied with : and it was found serviceable. This practice was likewise continued the next year.

November 8, 1738, a church was embodied at Monument-Ponds, consisting of twenty-five members from hence, and Mr. Jonathan Ellis ordained their pastor. This was the 6th church derived from this ancient church. Mr. Elijah Packard succeeded Mr. Ellis there anno 1753, and continued with them till the year 1757, and they are now as a flock without a shepherd.

In the years 1741, 1742, 1743, there were great awakenings, and a remarkable reformation in the town, as Mr. Leonard has given the publick an account. In the two first of these years, thirty-nine males and fifty-eight females were received to full communion in this church.

In 1744, a third church was embodied in the town, to which nine male members were dismissed by the church ; and first Mr. Frink, and afterwards Mr. Bacon, were settled as

as their pastors. This was the seventh church that sprang from us.

July 1744, the first society in Plymouth erected a new meeting-house, which they began to raise on the 17th, and on the 29th they began to meet in it: Mr. Leonard then preaching from psalm cxxii. 1, 2, 3, 4 verses.

May 2, 1745, Mr. Thomas Foster (son of the late pious deacon Foster) and Mr. Joseph Bartlet, were chosen deacons. And October 3, 1754, Mr. John Torrey (son of that valuable and useful man, deacon Haviland Torrey) was chosen to that office.

In the fall of the year 1755, the Rev. Mr. Leonard labouring under many infirmities of body, the precinct procured Mr. Foster, a young candidate, for his assistant three months; and after this, Mr. Leonard himself preached constantly till July, 1756, when finding his bodily disorders increase, he requested further assistance; and first Mr. Reed, and afterwards Mr. Jackson, were obtained for some months. After this, Mr. Leonard preached but little, and in the spring asked a dismission: The church granted his request upon certain conditions; and the precinct having agreed to give him £.160 lawful money, he removed his family to Norton, June, 1757. The dismission from his pastoral relation to the church not to be compleated, till another minister was settled.

The church, after this, used many endeavours for the resettlement of gospel-ordinances among them, and several had a call for settlement: as, Mr. Sprout, Mr. Whitney, &c. and many other canditates were heard; and at last providence led them to the choice of Mr. Chandler Robbins, October 30, 1759. He accepting, was solemnly ordained to the work of the ministry, January 30, 1760; whom, we trust, God will make a great blessing to us and ours. The preceeding pious and seasonable sermon* (which was very grateful to the numerous auditory) was preached on that occasion: And the churches assisting, were the first, third and fourth of Bridgewater, the first of Rochester, the first of Plympton, the first of Middleborough, Abington, Halifax, Bristol, Taunton, Raynham, Berkley, Milton, and Branford in Connecticut colony.

The same day Mr. Robbins was ordained, the church, pursuant

* This account was first printed as an appendix to the ordination sermon by the Rev. Philemo Robbins, of Bradford, in Connnecticut.

pursuant to agreement, and by advice of the council, gave Mr. Leonard (who was personally present, and assisted in laying on of hands) a dismission, in the terms, following. "Whereas we have for many years enjoyed the learned, orthodox and godly ministry of the Rev. Mr. Nathanael "Leonard, and he, through bodily indisposition, being incapacitated from further carrying on said work, and he now "desiring a dismission from his pastoral relation to us, and "we having the advice of an ecclesiastical council now convened in this place, to grant his request; we hereby signify "our compliance, and accordingly dismiss him from his pastorate over us: At the same time acknowledging it as a "great favour of heaven, that we have enjoyed his labours so "long, viz. for near three and thirty years. In this time we "have found him a diligent, zealous, faithful minister of "Jesus Christ, and have great reason to be humbled before "God for our own unfruitfulness, and for God's correcting "rod in removing him from us. And we do freely and "heartily recommend him to the work of the ministry, if "God should restore his health; and also to the communion "church of Christ in Norton. We desire still an interest in "his prayers, wishing himself and family all blessings, temporal, spiritual, and eternal."

Signed by

John Cotton, } In the name
Thomas Foster, } and behalf of
John Torrey. } the church.

Thus having given some historical account of this ancient church, from its first rise to this time, it will be proper here to mention a few things relative to its principles and practices.

1. As to their principles in doctrine, the first settlers in this place professed a strict adherence to the confession of faith agreed to by the protestant churches in France, which was drawn up by Calvin's own hand; and which was the same for substance (though in a different mode of expression) that was many years after compiled by the Westminster assembly: Looking upon it as fully agreeing with the scriptures of truth, which they held to be the only infallible standard of true religion, both in doctrine and practice.

As for the doctrines of Arminius, (which began to take deep root when they first settled in Holland), they had them in

in great detestation. In Leyden, the place of their residence, they found the university engaged in daily and hot disputes about the Arminian doctrines; the two divinity professors being divided in their sentiments; Episcopius (Arminius's successor, who died anno 1609) appearing for them, Poliander against them: And the contention grew to that head, that few of the disciples of the one would hear the other. But Mr. Robinson, though he preached thrice a week, and wrote sundry books, besides his other manifold labours, yet constantly attended the lectures of both: By means of which, he was soon well grounded in the controversy, and saw the force of all their arguments, and knew the shifts of the Armenians; and being himself very able, none was fitter to encounter them as appeared by sundry disputes; so as he began to be a terror to the Arminian party; which induced Episcopius, their head, to exert his best strength, and set forth sundry theses, which he declared, he would defend by publick disputes against all opposers: Upon which Poliander, the other professor, and the chief preachers of the city, desired Mr. Robinson to dispute against him: But he being a stranger, was loth to engage: Yet the other continuing their importunity, telling him that such was the ability and expertness of the adversary, that the truth was in danger to suffer, if he did not help them; he at last complied, and prepares himself against the time. And upon the day prefixed, he enters the lists, and by dint of argument foils the opposer, so as to put him to an apparent non-plus, in a great and publick audience. And the like he did two or three times afterwards, upon such like occasions: The which, as it caused many to praise God, that the truth had so famous a victory; so it procured him much respect and honour from those learned men, and others, who loved the truth.

2. As to church-government and discipline, they disclaimed the name of Brownists, which was thrown upon them by the adversary; and were first called Independents, afterwards Congregationalists; holding the equality of pastors and churches, and the distinct right each church had of ordering its own affairs, without controul from any superiour authority: Yet ready to hold communion with all churches professing the true faith and worship of Christ, and to afford (as well as receive) assistance by council and advice, as there was occasion. We have an early instance of this, in their sending

sending messengers to Salem, to give the church there the right hand of fellowship at their first incorporation, anno 1620, which was the second church in the country.

The platform of church discipline and government, agreed upon by the venerable synod convened at Cambridge, anno 1648, was entirely agreeable to their sentiments, and according to the model long before laid down by their pastor, Mr. Robinson, in his printed works; although I cannot find that they sent any delegates to that assembly; it being chiefly (if not wholly) composed of the churches of the Massachusetts; and only Mr. Partridge of Duxborough, out of Plymouth colony, mentioned as present, (whether by delegation from his church, I know not), who was one of the committee for drawing up the platform. Yet some of the most famous in that synod readily acknowledge the light they derived from Plymouth church, in the formation of it; which being the first, became a pattern, by which the rest were modelled: whose members being but lately withdrawn from the church of England, could not be supposed to be so well studied in the controversy, as the other, who were of longer standing, and had borne the burden and heat of the day.

The church here had left the communion of the church of England many years before their coming over; and this not so much upon the account of doctrine (although they thought their articles too general and short) as upon the account of discipline and government and ceremonies. The two latter they looked upon as relicks of popery, without scripture warrant, and encroachments upon the kingly office of Christ: And they were much offended at the laxness of the former, the most scandalous being admitted to the Lord's-supper (as members of the national church) with little or no restriction. For this their dissent they suffered much in their native country, as has been hinted before; some were cast into prison, some beset in their houses, some forced to leave their farms and families, &c. insomuch that they were obliged at last to fly the land, and take refuge in foreign countries, where liberty of conscience was allowed, with the small pittance of their estates that they had saved from the hands of the oppressors: And yet even this they did by stealth; for if their design of going was discovered, they were stopped and imprisoned, and their goods seized. Mr. Robinson, with as many of his people as could get away, arrived in Holland in 1607,

1607, and 1608, and first settled at Amsterdam; and about a year after, removed to Leyden, where (having about 300 communicants) they continued near 11 years, till the removal of part of them to New-England. Thus were they driven to and fro, and tossed as with a tempest; having few friends to comfort them, and no arm of flesh to support them; so that (as the record expresses it) "if in some things they were too rigid, &c. they are rather to be pitied, considering their times and sufferings, than to be blasted with reproach to posterity."

3. In regard of the ministry, they held the necessity of gifts and study, and the great advantage and usefulness of human learning to qualify for the office, and improved men of an academical education, as they had opportunity, from their first settlement: But their pastor being kept back from them by the plots of evil men, the necessity of the times obiged them to use the best helps they could get: Accordingly the ruling elder, when he wanted assistance, used frequently to call upon some of the gifted brethren to pray, and give a word of exhortation in their publick assemblies; the chief of whom were governour Edward Winslow, governour Bradford, his son in law, Mr. Thomas Southworth, secretary Nathanael Morton: men of superiour knowledge and parts, and of good school-learning. But this gives no warrant to private brethren (however qualified) to do the like in our days (as some of our present separates have urged); there not being the same necessity, where good ministers may be had. Hear the sentiments of our fathers on this head, as recited in the church records: "Though neither all nor most "of the brethren of a church have ordinarily received a gift "of publick prophesying or preaching; yet in defect of pub- "lick ministry, it is not an unheard-of novelty, that God "should enlarge private men with public gifts, and to dis- "pense them to edification: For we read, that when the "church at Jerusalem were all scattered abroad, except the "apostles; yet they that were scattered went every where "preaching the word. Acts viii. 5. and xi. 19, 20, 21."

II. In regard of their practices, I have in some measure prevented myself, having occasionally mentioned several, as about frequent renewals of covenants, conference-meetings, catechising, singing, &c. I would further remark:

1. As to the admission of members. The elders first examined

amined the candidates for communion, in private, of their knowledge of the doctrinal articles of religion; allowing and encouraging any person to declare his confession of faith in his own way and method. But if any, through bashfulness or defect of memory, choose to have particular queries put to them, they usually inquired of their belief, concerning God, his nature, attributes, the works of creation and providence, (preservation, gubernation), the trinity of persons in the unity of essence, &c.

Concerning man: His original state, his apostacy, and the tempter to it, the sin itself, and the effects of it in the curse on himself and posterity, inward and outward, here and forever.

Concerning man's recovery by Christ: His twofold nature, the reason why God and why man, his three Offices, and the work of each office; and the several benefits coming by Christ, as justification, adoption, and sanctification, with eternal glory. How we come to be partakers of Christ and his benefits, namely, by faith; the nature of faith, the means to beget and increase it, and how the word is made effectual to this end: How God prepares the hearts of sinners to believe: How repentance is wrought, and the nature of it.

Concerning the church: Its officers and ordinances; the proper end and use of baptism, and who the subjects of it: The end why the Lord's-supper was instituted, and what is signified by the breaking of the bread and the pouring out of the wine; what is requisite to worthy receiving; what the proper matter of self-examination. Here it was expected, that the sacramental graces should be specified, and what experience they had of a law and gospel work upon their souls.

Concerning the duty of church-members towards one another, as love and holy watchfulness; and what is required in cases of offence, whether public or private.

Lastly; concerning the state of man after this life, the resurrection, general judgment, heaven, hell.

"I know not (says Mr. Cotton) in these thirty years, that any person examined in private by the elders, but did in some degree give a satisfying account of these things, though some much more fully than others; and though some did not presently give a direct and proper answer to some questions, yet in further discourse about it, it usually appeared they competently understood the thing."

The elders being satisfied in private, the method of proceeding in public was as has been recited. But they saw cause to alter their practice in November, 1705. The elders then representing to the church, that the obliging male persons, at their admission, to make a personal and oral relation, might be an hinderance to some gracious souls, and obstruct the growth of the church; they voted, that a relation given in, in writing, publicly read, and the person standing forth publickly to own it, should for the future be as satisfactory to the church as if delivered viva voce.

2. Another thing proper to remark is their behaviour towards the children of the church. When the church publickly and solemnly renewed covenant, they called upon all baptized adult persons to own their interest in the covenant of their fathers, and to endeavour to stir up themselves in the use of all due means for obtaining the good and blessings of that covenant: Which they readily complied with, as has been hinted; withal confessing their covenant violations, and engaging (through the assistance of God's spirit) to reform the evils abounding among them.

And in general, they were very strict in watching over the children of the church; dealing with them as with members in full communion, in case of scandal, requiring a publick confession where the offence was public. Many instances of this sort I find in the church records; as, for evil speaking, slandering, intemperance, uncleanliness, selling liquor to the Indians, &c. And when they proved obstinate (which was but seldom) they were cut off from their relation to the church. And some instances there are of their sending admonitions to the church-seed removed to other places, when guilty of publick offence, which was of good effect.

3. Another thing that may be noted, is their method of voting. The elders called for the votes of the church, sometimes by lifting up of hands; sometimes by silence; sometimes calling upon every brother, one after another, to speak his mind; sometimes, when divers had particularly spoken, asking if the rest were so minded, they in a more general way assenting. Any of these methods were attended, as the elders thought most expedient. It is also to be noted, that in all church affairs, when the elders called for the vote of the brethren, they never called for a negative, or contrary vote; as judging it would be the using of ax or hammer in temple-work;

work: Only care was taken, before the vote was called for in any case, to gain the consent of every brother; and in case any could not actually vote; yet expressing, that they could rest in the act of the church, it was satisfying: And this was a great preservative of the peace of the church

4. I would observe, that previous to Mr. Little's settlement, both church and town joined in inviting him to preach as a candidate, as well as afterwards in giving him a call. None, it seems, in that day, pleaded for the society's right of supplying the pulpit, without the church's leading in the affair. And in more ancient days, by some hints in the church records, it may be gathered, that the church managed the whole affair, both of inviting and calling, there being no mention of the congregation.

5. And lastly. We may observe their general regard to religion and practical godliness. For this they were had in renown, both far and near; coming as nigh the primitive pattern of the first churches, as any church in these latter ages has done, according to their rank and quality.

Particularly, they were remarkable for their strict piety towards God their strong and lively faith, their fervent love, their flaming zeal for the divine honour and interest, their watchfulness and prayerfulness, their conscientious regard to his sabbaths and institutions, their delight in his word and ways, their frequent days of humiliation, readiness to attend religious meetings, &c. Which things proved such an eyesore to some coming among them, merely upon secular views, that they soon withdrew, and turned bitter adversaries to the plantation.

They were likewise eminent for sobriety, temperance, and chastity, for mortification and great self-denial in regard of themselves. And in respect of others, how diligent and faithful in the discharge of relative duties, whether in family, church, or commonwealth! Their training up their families in the ways of the lord; their circumspect watch over their brethren; their strict justice and righteousness in all their publick and private concerns, ought to be had in perpetual remembrance. Nothing endeared them so much to the natives, as their impartial regard to justice, without fraud or cozenage, in their dealings with them. This (together with their love and kindness expressed) linked them so fast to them, that they had no wars in their borders, till another generation

tion rose up about fifty-five years after their first settlement. Such was their single-heartedness and sincerity in those days, that their word was reckoned equivalent to their bond; and they took but little care to tie one another by hand and seal, in their sales and contracts; which has given occasion to so many law-suits, and such overturns among their posterity, who were possessed of another spirit.

Their fervent love and charity also towards their brethren and fellow-christians shone fourth with peculiar lustre. During their residence in Holland, they lived together in love and peace, without any considerable difference or disturbance, but what was easily healed in love; insomuch that the magistrates of Leyden, about the time of their removal, gave this commendatory testimony of them, in reproof of the Walloons (members of the French church in the city): "These English, (say they) have lived among us now these twelve years, and yet we never had any suit or accusation brought against them; but your strifes and quarrels are continual," &c. And, after their coming over here, they walked in the same steps. What unity and harmony was there among them! and how did their charity, in the midst of their deep poverty, abound; and how ready to bear one another's burden!

In the first twelve years after their settlement, numerous objects of charity presented, which they were ready to relieve, even beyond their power. Some shipwrecked on their coasts; some vessels destitute of provisions, or most of their hands sick; multitudes landing here, in order to go to other colonies for settlement, &c. All met with kind entertainment for the most part upon free cost, and sometimes for months together, &c. For which, from several, they met with very ungrateful returns. And then their expending some hundreds gratis to procure passage and provisions for their poor brethren in Holland (as has been noted) is never to be forgotten; as also (after their arrival) their giving them houses, preparing them ground to plant, and supplying them with provisions, &c. above thirteen or fourteen months, till they have a harvest of their own production. And the same charitable disposition prevailed in after-years, though there was not so much occasion for the outward expressions of it. About the year 1676, the church and people here made a large collection for the relief of the distressed in the Indian war, in some parts of the colony. The like they did

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in the eastern war with the natives, anno 1689, and sent it to the distressed eastward. Also divers times, there were considerable contributions for particular families, whose houses were burnt ; and for sundry persons brought low by sickness and long affliction. "This may be truly left on record (says "Mr.Cotton) that upon any motion of the elders for a con- "tribution on such accounts, there was a great readiness in the "people to hearken thereto, and give freely and abundantly : "The Lord reward it."

Thus having given a summary account of the principles and practices of this ancient church, what remains but to bring these things home to the present generation in a brief address.

Hence, see what grounds of praise and thanksgiving for God's wonderful goodness to our ancestors. We have abundant cause to bless his name for his presence with them, and protection over them ; for putting it into their hearts to transplant themselves, over the ocean, into this then hideous wilderness ; for keeping them in their way, and preparing a place for them ; for settling them here in peace, and providing for them in their low estate ; for defending them from the insults of the natives, and preserving their civil and religious privileges, notwithstanding the many attempts of enemies to overthrow them : for increasing their numbers, and causing them to take deep root, so that the land at this day is overspread with inhabitants, and these once barbarous regions filled with churches, devoted to the honour and service of our great Redeemer. For these and innumerable other mercies (of which we their posterity receive the benefit) we have cause to sing the divine praises, to the latest generation. Divers attempts had been made by both French and English to settle these American regions before, upon mere temporal views. But such a train of crosses accompanied their designs, as that all proved abortive, till this pious people made the attempt upon better views, and then all difficulties vanish before them. For which let the Lord have all the glory.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE CLIMATE, SOIL AND VALUE OF THE EASTERN COUNTIES IN THE DISTRICT OF MAINE; WRITTEN IN THE YEAR 1789. BY THE HONOURABLE GENERAL LINCOLN.

THE Counties of Cumberland and Lincoln, from their situation in the centre of the temperate zone; the purity of the air; the frequent gales; the nature of the soil; the height of the lands; the balsamick quality of many of the trees in the forest; the rapidity of its streams; their exemption from stagnant waters, poisonous animals, and noxious plants; the temperature of the weather in summer, and the regularity of the seasons in winter, are rendered equally, if not more healthy than any part of the United States; and probably in this respect they are not exceeded by any climate whatever.

The sea coast, which is about two hundred miles in length, of which there are the most accurate maps, abound with safe and commodious harbours; besides which, there as a security given to navigation, by what is called an island passage. Almost the whole shore is covered by a line of islands, among which vessels may generally anchor with safety.

There are in these counties, many large rivers, some of them navigable far up into the country; and although navigation for large vessels is interrupted by falls, when far up the rivers, yet above the falls there is a plenty of water, for small craft nearly to the source of the rivers, our northern bounds. From the various branches of these rivers, extending from east to west, and the different lakes and ponds whence they issue, there is a water communication, with few interruptions, from the western to the eastern bounds, across the country above the centre of it. By this route, its productions may, with the greatest ease and safety, and with a very inconsiderable expense, be transported to the different seaports. Until a great proportion of the country shall be settled, there will be but few, if any instances, where the land carriage will exceed thirty miles, and never much more than that distance.

From the different rivers, water may be drawn for mills, and all water work; besides, many are the advantages, which arise to a country, through which streams of water are so liberally interspersed, as they are in this; and especially when they

they abound, as many of these do, with fish of different kinds; among them are the salmon, the shad, the alewife, and others, which seek the quiet waters of the lakes, as the only place in which they can with safety lodge their spawns. From this source, the inland country may draw a supply of fish, equal to all their demands, if they are not interrupted in their passage, which are rendered peculiarly valuable, as *their annual return is at a season of the year when most needed*, and when they can be cured with a very little salt; so that a long and free use of them will not be injurious to the health of the inhabitants. The certainty of the supply adds to its value. *These fish*, as is supposed, and of which there cannot, I think, be a doubt, *return to the same waters, yearly, in which they were spawned*, unless some unnatural obstructions are thrown in their way. Whilst the people inland may be thus supplied with fish, the inhabitants on the sea coast may be supplied by the cod and other ground fish, which are allured quite into their harbours, in pursuit of the river fish, and may be taken with the greatest ease, as no other craft is necessary, in many places, than a common canoe. Great advantages arise, also, to those who live on the sea coast, from the shell fish, viz. the lobster, the scollop, and the clam. To these advantages may be added, those which arise from the forests being filled with the moose and deer, and the waters being covered with wild fowls of different kinds.

The country, though high, is not mountainous; and a great proportion of the lands are arable and exceedingly fertile. In every experiment made within my knowledge, where the ground has been properly fitted to receive the seed, it appears to be very friendly to the growth of wheat, rye, barley, oats, peas, hemp and flax, as well as for the production of all kinds of vegetables, and of English grass. We have little reason to doubt, but that apple and other fruit trees would flourish there, and that it would produce good orchards. There are now many good ones to the northeast of these counties, in the province of Nova-Scotia. If we can credit tradition, there were good orchards, a centry past, within the county of Lincoln, about the bay of Passamaquady, which were destroyed after Colonel Church broke up the French settlements at that place.

On the Sea coast, where the lands are thought to be more indifferent, and less fertile, the deficiency is in a degree made up,

up, by the large quantities of manure, which may with great ease be obtained from the shores.

The rockweed is the principal; it abounds in these counties, and is an object of great importance. It is a marine vegetable, adhering to the rocks, lying between high and low water mark. The border of rockweed increases in width, in proportion to the height the tide generally rises and falls, which, in the eastern part of the county of Lincoln, is from twenty-five to thirty feet. This rockweed makes a most excellent manure, is well calculated to bury under the furrow, or to spread, in the month of April, on our meadows. A dressing of about ten loads upon an acre will last for three years. In that period it comes again to perfection on the rock, so that the returning wants of the lands will find a continual supply, from the same source. After a storm, large quantities of this manure will be found washed up to high-water mark, whence it is easily carted upon the lands. But the most usual mode of obtaining it, is by pulling or cutting it from the rocks, and loading it into carts, where that can be done; where it cannot, it may be loaded into scows. The supply of rockweed is immense, for it generally grows, in these counties, on all the shores which are washed by the sea; and although the shore, upon a line, will not probably exceed two hundred miles in length; yet, from the indented shores of the main, and all the shores of the islands, it will be found, that the sea, in these counties, washes more than two thousand miles of shore. If we estimate the border of rockweed to be one rod in width, taking one place with another, in the two thousand miles will be found four thousand acres of rockweed. I suppose that one acre will produce, annually, twenty loads; so that, on the whole shores of these counties, if my estimate is right, eighty thousand loads of good manure may be obtained every year from the rocks. Besides this, there are, many other marine vegetable substances, which are, from time to time, washed on our shores, and which make an excellent manure. But this is not all the advantage that may be derived from it; a salt is produced with great ease, which is an article of export, being much used in all the glass manufactories. It is made with little expense, nothing more being necessary than cutting the weed from the rocks, carrying it upon the shores, and spreading it until it shall be partly dry. A pit is then to be formed, proportionate

tionate to the quantity you shall have to burn, lined with clay; a fire built in the bottom of it, made with light wood, and the weed put on. When it begins to burn, you may keep feeding the fire with weed until your pit shall be full of the kelp ashes, or you have exhausted your stock of weed. When you have done burning the salt, which will be run into a body a little like potashes, it is to be cut out of the pit and put into casks; when so done it is fit for the market. From this salt, by a very simple process, two other articles of exports may be drawn, the marine alkaline salts and the Epsom salts. For the former, there are great demands in Europe, and are generally, if not universally, obtained from Spain, called in that country Barilla, which, though obtained from another marine plant, is of the same nature.

To return to the article of manures: Besides the rock-weed, and other marine vegetable substances, which are obtained from the sea, there are marls of different kinds to be procured. But as this will always be a grazing country, the manure from the barn yard will be a fruitful source, whence large supplies may be annually drawn.

The lands in these counties are easily cleared, there being in general but little under brush. Whilst the husbandman is cutting off his timber, and is opening his lands, he may keep a large stock of cattle, from the spontaneous growth of the wilderness. In it there is not only the browse, common to all wood lands, but a full supply of common plants, and many peculiar, I think, to these lands, on which the cattle eagerly feed, and from which they seem to draw equal nourishment as from common English grass. The young cattle, raised in these woods, are equally large with those fed in our common pastures; and cattle for beef fatten exceedingly well in them. Whilst large stocks of cattle are thus fed in summer, from the grass cut in many parts of the country, on the meadows made by the beavers, and from the salt marshes, a full supply of hay may be obtained the very first year, for keeping large stocks of cattle through the winter.

Upon these lands, are large quantities of pines and spruce, suitable for masts, boards, shingles, &c. This timber may be rendered very beneficial to the new settlers. From this source they may find a very useful employment in winter, in fitting the stuff for the market. The ease with which it is conveyed thereto, adds to its value, and makes it an object

worthy of attention; *care must, however, be taken, that this business doth not break in upon the time which should be employed in husbandry; that, by settlers in general, must not be sacrificed to any other object whatever.*

It is a circumstance, much in favour of these counties, that they abound with so many articles necessary for building. The ease with which the inhabitants in general procure their timber, their boards, their shingles, their lime, their bricks, their clay, and their stone, frees them from a considerable part of that heavy expense, so much felt, and so much complained of, by most people who have experienced it.

These counties are rendered peculiarly friendly to commerce, by their local situation on the Atlantick ocean, and from their contiguity to the great fishing banks; for the fish, when taken and cured, make a valuable article of export at all times, and especially with the lumber, with which the country abounds, and which is rendered more valuable by its being united in commerce with the fish; for it is so bulky an article, that it will hardly bear the expense of exportation, alone, to a foreign market. These lands abound with timber, and other necessary articles for ship building, of which it was thought deficient, until, by repeated experiments, *black birch* is found to answer the purpose; *many fine vessels have been built of this timber*, sent to sea, and proved not only excellent for the West-India trade, but have sold well in Europe, so that, as they have iron ores among themselves, they have every advantage necessary to constitute an independent, commercial people.

The natural and very intimate connection, subsisting between these counties and the old counties of the state, must contribute much to their interest, while in their infancy: for every article they have for sale, they find a ready market. Even for the wood which the husbandman is obliged to remove from his land, he receives a consideration equal, at the least, to the expense of cutting it off. From this source he may obtain his bread, while he is fitting his lands for a crop; so that the man, in the habits of industry and economy, who settles near the sea, or upon navigable rivers, with two months provisions, and an ax in his hand, may venture to set down, in this country, with a rational confidence that he can procure his bread, until he shall have opened his lands, so as to draw it from them.

Some

Some have affected to consider these lands as cold, barren and unpleasant. The old part of the Massachusetts was so considered by some, in the early days of its settlement, and representations much to its disadvantage, were transmitted across the Atlantick; those misrepresentations had their ill effects, at that time, as false representations have at this day. It is true, that the eastern part of the state is a little farther north than Boston; but all agree, who have experienced both, that the fall of the year in the new counties, is equally pleasant as the fall in the old part of the state. Winter hardly ever sets in until Christmas; and when it commences, there is such an uniformity in the weather, that it is rendered more agreeable, and less injurious, than it is when it is more open and changeable. The snow seldom or ever falls so deep, as to prevent the people from doing business with their teams, in the woods, all the winter. It is said, vegetation is not so forward there, in the spring, as it is in the old counties: It may be so at the begining of May: but before the end of it, from what I saw the three seasons I was in those new counties, there is very little, if any difference to be discovered; for the progress of vegetation is much more rapid in northern that in southern climate. I believe that there has not been any year, when, upon the cleared lands, there has not been a full supply of grass, for the cattle, by the twentieth of May. As soon as the lands shall become fully opened, there will not, in my opinion, be any considerable difference between the length of the winters, in the counties of Cumberland and Lincoln, and those in the counties of Hampshire and Worcester.

Some make an objection to the country, from a supposition that Indian corn will not grow in it. Admit, for a moment this to be the case, and consider why that should operate in the minds of any to the disadvantage of the country, or cause any anxiety in the mind of a settler, while he can be assured, that his land will produce him good wheat and rye, both which are raised in great plenty, and with much less expense, than is Indian corn, and are much more beneficial when raised. If we should contract the value of lands, capable of producing good wheat and rye, with those which will produce Indian corn only, we cannot hesitate one moment in pronouncing in favour of the former. None, however, need be anxious, though strongly attached to the use of Indian

Indian corn: if they really wish to have it, they may raise a supply, by procuring their seed from those inhabitants living north of them, some of whom annually raise considerable quantities of it.

Some people, who have seen the lands, in the eastern part of the county of Lincoln, entertain unfavourable ideas of the soil, as in many parts they are covered with a white birch, which growth is supposed to indicate that the lands are cold and barren. Such a conclusion cannot be justly drawn, respecting those lands, for all of them, which have fallen under my particular observation, of this growth, were, a few years since, covered with a growth of a very different kind. This is evident, from the remains of trees now lying on the ground, by which we learn, that the former growth was a mixture of the pine, spruce, hemlock, and different kinds of hard wood; and as the remains of the trees appear to be partly burnt, it is probable that the former growth was destroyed by fire. In this sentiment we are confirmed, by what took place about seven years since, on the bay of Cobscook; when the fire ran over, and destroyed the timber, on three or four thousand acres in one body; those lands were covered with the pine, spruce and hemlock, with some hard wood, as black birch, maple, &c. The fire-weed succeeded; after that, the white birch; and in a few years, from its present appearance, there will not be any vestiges remaining of the late growth. The white birch, or rather the yellow-hearted birch, (for it seems a different kind of white birch from that which grows in the old part of the state), with which many of these lands, near the sea-shores and rivers, abounded, flourishes on the high, gravelly hills, equally with that on the cold, flat vallies; so that we cannot any more determine the value of the soil by the present growth, that we can determine it by the springing up of the fire-weed; for the white birch seems as naturally to succeed the fire-weed, as that doth the burning of the lands. It has been found, by experience, that those lands which have been formerly burnt over, and are now covered with the white birch, are among the most valuable of the lands, as they are cleared with more ease, and produce better crops than others, when they are cleared.

Objections have been made to these counties, on account of the black flies, and other insects. It is true, they are troublesome

troublesome in the woods, two or three months in the year, but they decrease in proportion as the lands are opened. After a few acres are cleared, little is to be apprehended from them, and nothing, when the lands are generally so. The settlement at Machias is a proof in point; they, a few years since, as in other parts of the new counties, were infested with these insects; but as the lands about the settlement are generally improved, they are now as free from them as in any part of the state.

An idea that the lands are generally covered with fogs, has probably deterred some from becoming adventurers in them. The fogs frequently extend over the islands, and a small border of the main next the sea coasts; so that if they were really prejudicial to the country, a small part of it, only, is affected by them. But it remains a doubt whether they are injurious or not; people on the islands are equally, if not more healthy, than are those inland, where they are not exposed to fogs; and the soil appears to be equally productive, at the least, on them as on the main, and the grain not more liable to blasts.

As people may, with great propriety, inquire, if this is really a territory so valuable as has been represented, why has the sale and settlement of it been so long delayed? and as many may be strangers to the true causes hereof, I cannot, in justice to the subject, omit mentioning some of those, which appear to me to be the principal ones. Among them may be considered the very extensive grants to small companies and individuals: The different claims to the same lands, arising from a partial and vague description of some of them, and the continual law suits consequent upon disputed titles, and the little prospect discovered in many instances of obtaining a good one: The want of power in the commonwealth to grant any of the lands lying between the rivers Penobscot and St. Croix: The hazard and the sufferings experienced by the settlers, from the very frequent wars with the savages for nearly a century and an half were not only damps on the spirits of too many of the settlers, but deterred others from joining them: Hence their attention to husbandry, which should have been their chief employment, was diverted, and they were led into other pursuits, less interesting, though from them they received an immediate supply; so that their lands, although the timber was cut off, were neither properly

ly cleared nor seeded, were soon over-run with bushes, fell thereby into disrepute, and many of the inhabitants into poverty and want.

Whilst these counties were labouring under so many embarrassments, fully seen by the state, but of such a nature as could not be removed by government, its attention was turned, more particularly, to the settlement of other parts of the commonwealth; and by a wise and judicious system, adopted by it, in selling the unlocated lands therein, at a very moderate price, in townships, and in annexing certain conditions, of such a nature as secured not only a speedy sale, but settlement. And although the price of the lands was thereby reduced, yet the settlement of them, in consequence thereof, became so rapid, that in a very short time the revenue, arising from them, amounted to more money than would have been the value of the lands, had no conditions been annexed. Large bodies of unlocated lands are of little or no value to a state; the importance of a nation doth not arise from the extent of its territory, but from its numbers, and from the wealth of its inhabitants.

The obstructions which for a long time retarded the settlement of the lands, in the counties of Cumberland and Lincoln, are pretty generally removed, and the General Court have gone a very considerable length, in digesting, and bringing forward a system, which, when completed, must operate much to the interest of the present inhabitants, and more especially to all new settlers. It must be a pleasing circumstance to all persons interested in these counties, to know that a large tract of land is appropriated, by the commonwealth, to remain as a fund, for the establishment and support of an academy, in a part of that country, so central, that the whole may be well accommodated: That in the sale of the several townships, lands are retained by the state as publick lots, for the support of the gospel ministry, for schools, and other publick purposes: That a road is to be opened, at the public expense, through lands unsold, from the bay of Passamaquady to Penobscot-river: That the county of Lincoln is, for the accommodation of all parts of this large county, to be divided into three distinct counties. This event will take place as soon as the people can support the little expense of it. And for the present accommodation of the inhabitants, the General Court have established some

principal

principal officers, in the lower part of the county, such as judge of probate, and register of deeds. Besides, as a farther encouragement to the settlement of these lands, many of them, by an act of the General Court, are exempt from taxes for a number of years to come. These attentions of the legislature cannot fail of producing consequences beneficial to the whole, as they will promote the sale and settlement of these lands. An event of so great a magnitude cannot be accomplished with so much dispatch as our interest demands; for it is with this large tract of country, as with every thing else presented to market, which commands a price and a speedy sale, in proportion to the quantity offered, compared with the number of purchasers. It must be manifest to every person, who attends to the subject, that the market is much over done, and that there is no proportion between the quantity offered for sale and the number of persons who wish to become adventurers in them.

From the situation of a considerable proportion of these lands, remote from the sea, the proprietors will not be able to realize any thing from them until they shall become settled. This event cannot very soon take place, respecting all of them, for their limits are very extensive, and there are such constant drains upon our natural growth of inhabitants, by the large opening for settlers, and the daily emigrations from this state into the state of New-Hampshire, New-York, Vermont, and upon the banks of the Ohio. Hence many of our lands must remain unsettled, as the property of the commonwealth, or as the property of individuals, for some time yet to come. This period however might be shortened, if the state should think proper, in addition to what they have done, for the encouragement of settlers, and for the promotion of the sale of those lands, to open wide the doors of the commonwealth for the reception of foreigners.

When it is considered, what large tracts of unlocated lands are now owned by the state, and that a spirit of emigration from it has manifestly discovered itself; and when we contemplate the state of our publick debt, questions of very great importance offer themselves to the mind, viz. Whether we ought to proceed further in our present line of conduct, hold our lands at the price at which they are now selling, though we should progress slowly in this business; or whether

whether we ought to reduce the price of them, so as to make it for the interest of individuals to become purchasers of them, though many years may elapse before they shall become settled. These inquiries are interesting in their nature; and on a just decision of them, much depends; a task to which I feel myself perfectly incompetent, and shall therefore only observe, that whilst these lands remain the property of the commonwealth, the most valuable tracts will be engrossed by individuals; as also the most beneficial mill-spots, and the best of the timber, which eventually must operate much to the injury of the state, and to after settlers. If these lands should be sold, the moment they become the property of individuals, they will claim their immediate attention; and no measures will be left untried, to effect an early settlement of them, as from a great proportion of them, nothing can be realized until they are peopled. As the purchasers will probably be dispersed through the different parts of the commonwealth, they will have an extensive influence therein, and thereby have it in their power to engage their neighbours as settlers, and check the spirit of emigration from this state, so prevalent in it, and which operates so much to its disadvantage. If these things are effected, they must be the result of private exertions; they cannot be produced by the state at large; for the benefits to be expected from the object, are too general to claim the particular and constant attention of its citizens.

We have, in the counties of Cumberland and Lincoln, a large extent of country yet unsettled; it must be for the interest of the whole to make the terms for settlers as alluring as possible, and as light and easy as they are made by any of our neighbours. The moment we do this, and the intentions of government shall be fully known, and the value of the country placed in its proper point of light, we cannot doubt but the attention of our people will be arrested, and fixed upon our eastern territory; and especially when it is considered, that this part of the commonwealth is healthy and fertile; that it abounds with every necessary of life; that it affords many valuable articles for exportation; and that hence, and from its local situation, its advantages, as a commercial country, are peculiarly great. In this channel, the industrious inhabitant will find a ready and a good sale for all the surplus of his labours. This consideration will be

be a strong inducement to economy and industry ; industry is the road to virtue ; it gives health to the body and vigour to the mind. A people thus situated, will from the nature of things, become well informed and enlightened. None, therefore, may hesitate to pronounce this a country which will entail freedom and happiness to its inhabitants, if they are not wanting to themselves.

COPY OF A LETTER FROM THE HON. GENERAL LINCOLN, ON THE RELIGIOUS STATE OF THE EASTERN COUNTIES IN THE DISTRICT OF MAINE.

Boston, February 10, 1790.

REV. SIR,

MY particular acquaintance with the state of the inhabitants in the eastern part of this commonwealth, especially of those inhabiting the land upon, and eastward of Penobscot river, and with the evils they suffer from the want of a regular, settled ministry, will, I hope, apologize to you, and your brethren of the clergy, for my taking up a matter which may be supposed to belong more properly to them.

There are not more than three ordained ministers from Penobscot river to Passamaquady, an extent of more than 100 miles square ; and now so filled with inhabitants, that the General Court has thought them sufficient in numbers, and of ability, to constitute two distinct counties ; and they are accordingly organized into two counties, by the names of Washington and Hancock.

In the two counties there are 21 incorporated towns and 8 handsome plantations ; and the inhabitants are rapidly increasing, not only from natural growth, but by the emigrations from the old part of the state. Most of the present inhabitants are emigrants from those towns where publick worship has always been kept up. They have been in the habit of attending it, and all the ordinances of the gospel, and now feel themselves unhappy in being in a situation by which they are deprived of those enjoyments, which they consider important, and essential to a full discharge of their duty.

In this state of mind, many of them eagerly invite every stranger to preach among them, who has assurance enough to assume the character of a preacher. Happy would it have been for those people, had there never been any improper

teachers among them. They would in that case, at least, have escaped some examples poisonous to the mind, and which have a natural tendency to beget a disbelief of the christian religion; to lessen the evidence of its importance, and to throw down the barriers between virtue and vice.

Although among itinerant preachers there are many sober, well-meaning men, yet they hold nearly as many different creeds as they are in number. You know, sir, that I am no bigot; I hope and trust I am catholick enough; but I think, however, that the future happiness of these people depends, in a great measure, upon their now being kept right. For if, from their want of proper instruction at this day, they should be so unfortunate as to divide into as many sectaries as there are families (of which there is danger) the most unhappy consequences must result; as in any future day, it will be next to impossible to obtain that union necessary to the settlement of a regular ministry among them.

Few, if any, of these itinerant preachers, who are frequently among them, have authority to administer the sacraments of the New-Testament: Very few, therefore, of the children, born in that country, are baptized; nor has the Lord's-supper ever been administered in most of the towns and plantations below Penobscot. There is great reason to believe, that, unless some care is immediately taken to remedy the evil, by sending regular, ordained ministers into that country, who shall, by their examples of piety and righteousness and benevolence, enforce the truth of the doctrines they teach, the inhabitants will acquire, at least, an indifference to those important truths, which were impressed on their minds in tender youth; and their children will be left in a situation so unfortunate as never to have the means of knowing them. It is unhappy for our new settlements that there are so few candidates for the ministry. That circumstance, joined to the present mode of education, and of living, makes it exceedingly difficult to procure candidates for our infant settlements. Young gentlemen, at this day, would hardly, as many formerly did, think of going and settling down, in the morning of life, with a people in a new township, and *rough it* for a few years with them. There are now so many vacant parishes, in the old towns, that the few candidates find employment without those exertions, which I am fully in opinion, it would be their interest to make, and settle in the new parishes.

In

In all places they could have a handsome grant of lands, in the centre of a town ; and although the people might find it difficult, the first few years of their settlement, to pay them much money ; yet they would with pleasure, build them a house, and clear their land, which would soon put them into an independent situation. Before the close of ten years, their prospects, in general, would probably be much more eligible than that of most of the ministers in our old towns. Besides, I cannot help thinking it would be a very pleasing consideration to a young gentleman, who settles in a new place, that the people are advancing in life with him, and that the little hardships they may experience, for a few years, would have a natural tendency to assimilate them, and strengthen their friendship.

There is also a pleasure which must, I think, arise in every mind, on seeing the desart become a fruitful field, and the wilderness blossoming as the rose. Permit me to add one inducement more, which should lead young gentlemen of the ministry into a new country ; that if they have a family of children, they have it in their power to settle those around them ; a circumstance very important to parents, and especially as they approach the evening of life.

After all, as I said before, such is the mode of education, and such are the ideas of the day, that people must not think of sitting down in life until they can support a certain style of living. It is hard to persuade gentlemen of the age of twenty-one of the truth of those facts, of which they are generally pretty fully convinced before thirty.

I hope that no person will attribute the want of a regular ministry, in the eastern country, to the neglect, much less to the dissatisfaction of the people ; but that they will rather inquire what can be done to place them in a situation interesting and important to themselves, and beneficial to the community at large.

Suffer me to suggest one idea more on the subject, viz. that if a number of candidates for the ministry be ordained, and encouraged to go into that country, they might get some pay from the people, and travel through the lower counties ; preach to the people, baptise their children, form the societies into regular churches, and administer the Lord's supper These things will have the best effect upon the minds of the people ; and bring them into a state of order. Such young

ordained

ordained ministers might travel in that county very agreeably for six or eight months in a year; they would, I think, become pleased with it, and soon get particular settlements in it. I have the honour to be, &c.

B. Lincoln.

Rev. Mr. Little.

Extract of two Letters from Charles Thompson, Esq. Secretary of Congress during the Revolution-War, to the Vice-President of the United States, relative to Dr. Kippis's Misrepresentation.

(See page 85)

Harriton, March 9, 1795.

Sir,

I DID not till yesterday receive your letter of the 4th of February, with the enclosed letter to you from Dr. Belknap, dated January 7, &c.

Though on reading these remarks *I could not hesitate a moment in contradicting them*, because Congress never did express a disapprobation of the direction issued by Dr. Franklin; nor did they ever direct that especial care should be taken to seize Capt. Cook, if an opportunity of doing it occurred; yet I thought it might not be improper to pause, and try to find from what source this misrepresentation sprung.

It is true that in the year following, viz. on the 2d of May, 1780, Congress passed a new form of a commission for private vessels of war, and new instructions to the commanders; in which the ships or vessels with their cargoes belonging to the inhabitants of Bermuda, and other vessels bringing persons with an intent to settle and reside within the United States, are expressly exempted from capture; and *no notice is taken of Captain Cook.* But I very much doubt, whether at the time of passing this act, Congress had any knowledge of the directions issued by Dr. Franklin, and I am inclined to think that upon examining the dispatches received from him between March 1779, and this time, it will appear, that *they had not received any notice of them.*

Though from this act, in which there is no exception in favour of Capt, Cook, an inference might be drawn, that Congress reversed the orders which their ambassador had given; yet, there is nothing in the commission or instructions.

tions, nor in any other act of Congress, which will warrant the assertions, "That it was directed by Congress, that especial care should be taken to seize Capt. Cook, if an opportunity of doing it occurred; and that all this proceeded from a false notion that it would be injurious to the United States for the English to obtain a knowledge of the opposite coast of America."

With regard to Dr. Kippis's *note* of his having obtained the account from Sir Joseph Banks; as Sir Joseph could not have given it from his own knowledge, but must have had it from others, I am led to conclude, that this has arisen from misinformation; or from some of those spurious pieces which were fabricated and published within the enemy's lines, as acts and resolves of Congress, with an intent to vilify Congress, or to answer some hostile purpose. I am &c.

CHARLES THOMSON.

Harriton, March 17, 1795.

SIR,

THE day after receiving your favour of February 4, I wrote the enclosed answer. But as my mind has been so long withdrawn from the occurrences in Congress, and so wholly bent on a different object,* I was not in haste to send it, until I refreshed my mind by looking over the journals. After all the search I have made, and the recollection I am master of, I see no reason to alter it.

I have the honour to be, &c.

CHARLES THOMSON.

The Vice-President of the United States.

LETTER FROM REV. MR. BENTLEY TO THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

Salem, 14 *May*, 1795.

REV. DR. BELKNAP.

SIR,

YOUR ample vindication of our government, from the hasty charge of Dr. Kippis, induced me to lay before you, a charge against the manners of our country. We are not accountable for the rash acts of the people; but a general insult

* Mr. Thomson has employed himself in his retirement in *translating the septuagint*; and in making a new translation of the *Greek Testament*.

insult to the work of a learned foreigner must have a cause in the influence of publick manners, or publick men.

In the fifth volume of the "Nouveau Dictionaire Historique, par une Société de gens de lettres, 6me ed. Caen, 1786," I find that, speaking of the Abbé Mably and particularly of his "Entretiens de Phocion, sur le rapport de la morale avec la politique," it is observed, "Ce livre rendit l'Abbé de Mably, si recommendable, que les Polonois, et les Americains,†

Then there is a note subjoined, which I copy.

† "Ce dernier peuple a bien changé, depuis, ses sentimens, de deference pour cet écrivain philosophe. Voici ce qu'on lit dans le Mercure de France, Janvier, 1785, No. III."

"Le dernier ouvrage de M. l'Abbé de Mably, *sur les constitutions des Etats Unis de l'Amerique*, a revolté les Americains contre cet estimable écrivain. Dans plusieurs etats, on l'a pendu en effigie, comme, *ennemi de la liberté, et de la tolerance.* Et son livre a été trainé dans la boue. Ce traitment qui pourra paroître plus honteux encore pour ceux qui l'ont infligé, que pour celui qui en est l'objet, prouve du moins que les Americains n'aiment pas qu'on leur donne des avis."*

With every sentiment of respect, your devoted servant,

WILLIAM BENTLEY.

* This book (Conversations of Phocion upon the relation of morality with politicks) made the Abbe de Mably so respectable, that the Polanders and Americans had recourse to his understanding.

There has since been a great change in the sentiments of the last mentioned people, according to what we read in the Mercury of France, January, 1785.

"The last work of the Abbe de Mably, upon *the constitution of the United States of America*, has provoked the Americans against this estimable writer. In many states he was hung in effigy, as the enemy of *liberty and toleration*. And his book was dragged in the mud. This treatment, which may appear still more to the shame of those who inflicted it, than to him who receives it, proves, at least, that the Americans are not fond of receiving advice."

NOTE. *The Editors of this work do not recollect any thing which could have given rise to the supposed insult on the Abbe Mably; but are inclined to rank it among other European slanders on the United States of America.*

AN

An Inquiry into the Right of the Aboriginal Natives to the Lands in America, and the Titles derived from them. Written in 1724, by the Rev. John Bulkley, Minister of Colchester in Connecticut,

THE natives' right, as it is commonly called, or the right the aborigines of this country (all or any of them) had, or have, to lands in it, is an interest which, every one knows, has not wanted many advocates among us, especially of late years who have endeavoured to advance or set it up as our only valuable title to whatever lands are in the country; some, perhaps, acting in what they have done with a real persuasion of this; but far the most, no doubt, on other considerations.

For my own part, I have ever thought this a matter more talked of than understood, and am ready to think of those, who are of the above mentioned opinion in this matter, that they have drank in this article of their faith, as perhaps they have many of the rest, without due examination or search into the matter.

I presume we are generally agreed there is such a thing as native right, to speak in the vulgar phrase; or a right which the aborigines of any country, and consequently of this, (or some of them at least), have, or had, to lands in it, I mean to particular tracts or parcels of it: I suppose there are few that in this point bring them down to a level with the brutal race, how barbarous or uncultivated soever they were: And sure I am, that none will deny it, that considers that as there never was any among mankind, even the most barbarous, but what were capable of impropriating lands, as well as other things, so that among the aborigines of this country there was that found that was sufficient for that end. Yet, notwithstanding, to assert their right in that extent that many do, and suppose it, without excepting any, to extend to all lands in the country, whether cultivated by them or not, is what I never could, nor yet can, see any sufficient reason for. And though I know to countenance and give a currency to this opinion, the authority of those truly worthy men that were the first settlers of English colonies here, as well as that of the several governments in the

the country, from the beginning to this day, is wont frequently to be alleged in discourse by our bigots to this principle, who would bear us in hand they were one and all of the same persuasion, and accordingly accounted no lands in the country their own till obtained of the natives by compact, or otherwise; yet, for my own part, I could never think so diminutively of them, or at least many of them, as to believe they acted on this principle in the regard they shewed the natives, and their pretended claim to the country, by entering into treaties with and allowing them gratuities for the lands; but rather that they acted on prudential considerations, taken from their own and the natives' circumstances.

And as it is an undoubted truth, that the aborigines of this country, some or all of them, had right to lands in it, so it is equally certain that of what extent soever it was, it arose from one of these two things, viz. either the law of nature, or positive laws, or constitutions of their own (tacit or express) regulating or determining the matter of property; one or other of these must give them what they had. And by consequence, nothing with any certainty can be determined upon the extent of the claims or properties of any single person or number of them, till first it be determined what their condition was, whether they were a people in the state of nature, and so had only what the law of nature gave them; or had quitted that state, entered into communities, and by compact one with another, and positive constitutions of their own, (tacit or express), had fixed the bounds of each community respectively, and settled or determined the matter of property in land within themselves severally: And in case this last be found, viz. that they had entered into communities, and performed those consequent acts, further it must be determined where the bounds of each community respectively were, and what disposition or settlement the laws of each society or community made of the lands within their limits severally. These are things which perhaps few of those, who have appeared with such heat and zeal for the forementioned principle, ever thought of; yet I am well assured there is no intelligent person but will readily grant, that, till these things are determined, nothing, with any certainty, can be known or resolved upon the extent of the claim or property of any among them, whether single person or community. And

And because diverse persons of different sentiments in this matter, viz. what the condition of the persons, I am now speaking of, was, as to this, at the time of the first access of the English to the country, when such large tracts of land are supposed by some to be obtained of them; some being of opinion they were a people in the state of nature, others that they had quitted that state, entered into communities, and put on some form of civil policy, &c. And because, as I said, nothing can be determined as to the extent of the right or property of any of them, without a determination of this matter; although I shall not presume upon any umpirage of it, yet shall examine each of these hypotheses, and on a supposition of the truth of both of them, severally, shall shew what can be determined upon the extent of the rights or properties of any of them; which, when I have done, I am prone to think, that those who, with such confidence, and to the no small harm and injury of their country, have appeared on the side of the forementioned extravagant principle, will see they have not such evidence of the truth of it, as perhaps now they think they have.

I take it for granted, and think it needs no proof, that as all men are, and ever were, born free, equal, and independent as to civil subjections or subordination, so there was a time when the state of nature obtained in the world.

This state of nature is a state wherein men, not having any common, established, positive law, (tacit or express), or judicature, to appeal to, with authority to decide controversies between them, and punish offenders, every man is judge for himself, and executioner.

" Those who are united into one body, and have a common, " established law and judicature to appeal to, with authority " to decide controversies arising between them, and punish " offenders, are in civil society one with another; but those " who have no such common appeal, I mean on earth, are " still in the state of nature, each being (where there is no " other) judge for himself and executioner." See Locke's Treatise of Government, page 247, and afterwards page 280. Accounting for the defects of this state, he says,

1. " There wants in it an established, settled, known law, " received and allowed by common consent, to be the " standard of right and wrong, and the common measure " to decide all controversies arising between men. For

"though the law of nature be plain and intelligible to all "rational creatures, yet men, being biassed by their interest, "as well as ignorant for want of study of it, are not apt to "allow of it as a law binding to them in the application of "it to their particular cases.

2. "In the state of nature, there wants a known, indif- "ferent judge, with authority to determine all differences "according to the established law; for every one in that "state being both judge and executioner of the law of "nature, men being partial to themselves, passion and re- "venge are very apt to carry them too far, and with too "much heat in their own case, as well as negligence and "unconcernedness to make them too remiss in other men's.

3. "In the state of nature, there often wants power to "back and support the sentence when right; and to give "it due execution, they who by any injustice offend, will "seldom fail, where they are able, by force, to make good "their injustice. And such resistance many times makes "the punishment dangerous, and frequently destructive to "those who attempt it." Thus that great man.

In a word, in this state, as men have no other law than that of nature or reason to be the measure or standard of right and wrong, and are without any common superior on earth, with authority to decide controversies, and a force or power to execute his sentences, to whom they might appeal when disputes arise, so every man has right in himself both to judge of the transgressions of that law, and punish them as far as he is able. And from this short account of this state, it is easy to see both what it is, and wherein it differs from a state of civil society; for whereas, in this state, men have no other law than that of nature, and every man has in himself right to judge of, and punish, the transgressions of that law; in that of civil society, there are other laws for a measure or standard of right and wrong, and this right of judging and executing is given up, by every individual, into the hands of the community; for which reason, in this state all private judgment, in any matters, ceases, and the community is umpire, and by settled, standing laws, made by themselves, indifferent, and the same to all parties, and by men having authority from the community to execute those laws, decides all differences that happen between any particular members, concerning any matter of right, and punishes all offences with such penalties as the law has established. Now

Now, on the supposition that the aborigines of this country, before and at the time of the first discovery and planting of it by the English, were in this state, and not to be considered as having put on any form of civil policy, let us inquire what can be determined concerning the extent of their rights to lands in it: And here it must be considered, that during the continuance of this state with any persons, though all have a right or claim to the earth, as well as all other things made for the use and comfort of man, by virtue of the grant of the Most High, the great proprietor of the world whereby, as the psalmist says, he has given the earth to the children of men; yet as by that they are made but commoners in them, and can claim only as such, so there is, I suppose, but one way whereby any particular person can begin a property in any thing, be it land or any thing else, exclusive of the rest of mankind, and this is by adding to it something which is his own; for instance, his labour, which is his alone, and no one else has any right to. Thus, in this state, the law of nature or reason, to which alone men are subject, and which gives them whatever they have; this law, I say, makes and allows the land a man tills and subdues, to be his peculiar property: By his labour, which is his own, (and no man else has any right to), bestowed upon it, he does, as it were, enclose it from the common; and that deer, or hare, or fruit, a man spends his time and strength in the chase and gathering of, it allows to be his property: He does thereby take them out of that common state wherein nature had made them. Worthy to be inserted here are the words of that great man* before mentioned; "Thus," says he, "this law of reason makes the deer the Indian's who has "killed it; it is allowed to be his goods, who has bestowed "his labour upon it, though before it was the common right "of every one." He adds, "And amongst those who are "counted the civilized part of mankind, who have made "and multiplied positive laws to determine properly, this "original law of nature, for the beginning of property in "what was before common, still takes place; and by virtue "thereof, what fish any one catches in the ocean, (that great "and still remaining common of mankind), or what amber-"gris any one takes up here, is, by the labour that re-"moves it out of the common state nature left it in, made "his property who takes that pains about it." Thus he.

* Mr. Locke.

Indeed, after any portion of the earth, or any thing else, is by this means taken out of the common state it was in before, and a property is begun in it, this state of nature seems to admit of other ways of fixing a property in the same thing or things by others; Thus, in this state, that land or other thing I began a property in, by my labour, may become the property of another man, by gift or purchase, as well as in a state of civil society; But labour only seems to be the thing that begins property, and first takes things out of their common state. As in the beginning, before men entered into society, this was the beginning of it, (Cain and Abel had their right of property, the one in the lands he cultivated, the other in the flock he kept, from their labour spent on them), so it is, ever since, where the same state of nature obtained, nor can it be begun, that I can see, otherwise.

And to this voice of the law of nature, viz. that labour in this state shall be the beginning of property, seems well to agree the voice of God himself, in the gift or grant he made of the earth, the creatures and production of it, to mankind, Gen. i. 28. Where we find that cultivating and subduing the earth, and having dominion, are joined together; thereby assuring us, that, as in that gift he then made of it in common to men, he did not design it should serve to their benefit and comfort only by its spontaneous production; but that it was his will, that by art and industry, in subduing and cultivating of it, they should draw still more from it, so that this should be their title to it, at least during the continuance of that state of nature, and still, by positive constitutions of their own, the matter of property should be otherwise determined and settled

And if this be true, as I think it is, viz. that in the beginning of the world, before men entered into society, and so in all ages and places since, where the state of nature obtains, and there are no positive constitutions (tacit or express) regulating the matter of property, this is the only way of beginning a property in things, be it land or what else you please, it seems no way difficult to determine upon the extent of men's properties during the continuance of this state of things among them; for this being the cause and original of all property, must be the measure of it too, whatever ways of fixing a property in things, thus firstly impropriated

impropriated, may be consequent upon it: As far as labour extends, and things by that are taken out of the common state nature left them in, so far the right of property must extend, and no farther; what is beyond this, must remain still in the same common state it was made in. And further, at the same time reason forces us to conclude that as to a right of property, in land particularly, it cannot be of great extent during men's continuance in this state, at least so long as they continue their simple, mean, inartful way of living, are mainly fed and clothed with roots, fish, fowl, deer, skins, &c. the spontaneous productions of nature, and have those provisions of it in such plenty that want does not oblige them to cultivate or till the earth. While things continue thus among them, what temptation can they have to impropriate much, especially if at the same time the necessary utensils, such as ploughs, hoes, axes, &c. are wanting, as we all know was the case with the aborigines of this country before the arrival of the English to it.

And now, from what I have thus said concerning the way of original or primary impropriation in the state of nature, it cannot be difficult to determine of the extent of the properties of the aborigines of this country, or any of them, in land, at the time of the access of the English to it, on the supposition of their being in this state; inasmuch as it assures us their labour or improvement was the measure of it. And to instance in the Moheags in particular, or any of them, concerning whose pretended claims there has been so much noise and strife in the country, which even to this day is not ended, what has been said assures us that on the supposition of their being in this state at that time, instead of such large territories they have been ignorantly (as well as knavishly enough to doubt) thought by some to have, they had really good right or title but to here and there a few spots of it, viz. only to so much as by the means abovementioned they had separated and enclosed from the rest of the country. I shall not presume upon an umpirage in this matter, by saying they were doubtless at that time in the state of nature. I remember what the judicious Mr. Hooker, in his learned Treatise of Ecclesiastical Policy, lib. 1. sect. 10. suggests concerning the defects of polities civil in their beginnings, in the more early ages of the world; and perhaps it is a difficult thing to fix the bounds between the

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state of nature and that of civil policy, or say how far the rights of the law of nature must be given up, or retained, by persons, in order to their belonging to the one or the other; yet thus far I shall venture to say, viz. that if what has been said, descriptive of this state of nature, be true, as I think it is, and if withal we may make a judgment of the customs and way of living of the persons I am now speaking of, at that time, by the customs and manners of the more uncivilized part of their survivors at this day, who, I imagine, may reasonably be thought the liveliest images of their ancestors, and most to retain their customs; if we may do so, I say, the probability seems to lie on the affirmative side, viz. that they were, with their brethren in Peru, Florida, Brasil, &c. beforementioned from Acosta, to be ranked with those in a state of nature.

Who, that is not a stranger to them, will say the forementioned essentials of a state of civil policy are to be found among them? That they have any established, settled, common law, received and allowed so much as by a tacit consent, to be the standard of right and wrong, and the common measure to decide controversies arising among them? And herewith, a known, indifferent judge, with authority to determine differences according to this established received law? Who knows not that an attempt to find these things among them, is like a search for the living among the dead? And that when controversies arise among them, without a reference of the matter to the decision of any common umpire or judge, every one looks on himself as vested with the rights of the law of nature, and accordingly is judge for himself and executioner! This every one knows is the common, uninterrupted practice of those of whom I am now speaking, and what is accounted reputable and laudable among them, in all disputes where the contending parties are capable of it, and in such as issue in the death of either of them; consonant to the same law, the nearest relative or relatives of the slain look on themselves as the persons concerned to do justice on the murderer, and accordingly fail not to watch all opportunities, till at length, by surprise or violence, they compass it, and by the gun, hatchet or knife, end the controversy.

I think I am not injurious, in this account of the present state of things among those of our natives, as we call them,

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I am now speaking of; nor can I so much as suspect a censure for it, since it is no more than what most, that are not strangers to them, know. The tragical end of Mahomet, eldest son, as I take it, to Owaneco, with the like tragical occasion of it, is yet fresh in our memories, and it is needless for me to relate: And who knows not that that was but one instance of that justice which is as frequent among them as there is the like occasion? This, every one, I think, must say, looks very much like the state of nature, (if the forementioned account of it be true); and if it be not an evidence of its obtaining among a people, is at least an evidence of such an imperfect state of civil policy as borders very near upon it. And if it be so with these now, we have, I believe, reason to conclude the condition of their ancestors, living at the time of the access of the English to the country, and before, was not better; for who can think that these their present survivors are more degenerate, and farther removed from a state of civil policy, than they were? For my own part, I have ever thought, on the other hand, that even the main of that shadow of it, which is now among them, is of later date, assumed by them partly from an humour of conformity to us their new neighbours, and partly for other reasons, and not a continuance of ancient, immemorial customs among them.

Nor is it, as I conceive, any conclusive evidence of the contrary, that they lived in some sort of society or neighbourhood, and had their chiefs or superiors among them, whether they were such as were so by nature and age, or by election; since the state of nature, though it banish or implies an absence of all inequality among men, as to civil authority or jurisdiction, yet does not exclude all inequality whatsoever. The state of nature is a state of subjection to the dictates and direction of the law of nature; which law is so far from banishing all inequality or subordination among men, that it ordains it in divers instances of it, particularly in the relations of parents and children, husband and wife, captain and soldiers. Right reason, which is this law, says there shall be subjection and subordination. These inequalities, therefore, are no ways inconsistent with this state, nor of themselves evidences it does not obtain among any. And these, I think it not improbable, were the only inequalities or subordinations among the persons I am now speaking of, at

at this time, and perhaps ever before. Their chiefs or superiors seem to have been either such as were so by nature or age, ancient fathers, or military heads, chosen by them to lead them out against their enemies. Thus where families among them happened to be numerous, continued entire together, and thought themselves sufficient to subsist by themselves, without uniting with others, (as was oft the case, no doubt, in that day, when there was no want of land; all the country, excepting here and there a spot, was an uncultivated wilderness, all provisions of nature accommodate to their plain, mean, inartful way of living, were in great plenty, and nothing found to give price to them farther than this did, and consequently temptations and occasions of strife or contention among them were few and rare during this day or time, I say), the fathers of such families in succession seem to have been their only superiors or chiefs, and by the exercise of their paternal authority (to which such families had been accustomed) maintained the little order was among them. They seem to have been their captains or leaders too, when occasion required, unless by reason of some defects of body or mind they were incapable of it. But when the case happened to be otherwise, as no doubt it often did, and divers families saw a necessity of uniting together for their better security against foreign force, their superiors or chiefs were by election, and seem to have been chosen by them for no other end than to be generals of their armies, as among their brethren in Peru, &c. beforementioned. Nor do they seem to have had but little, if any dominion at home, in times of peace. In this respect, they seem (if the comparison may be allowed) to be like the judges in Israel of old, who certainly were little, if any thing, more than generals of their armies.

These, I am much inclined to think, were the only superiors or chiefs they had among them, and which, perhaps, by an abuse or misapplication of the term, sachem, (which probably, in its original sense, intends no more than a chief father or captain), have in later times gone by the name of kings or civil heads. And though perhaps some will say, this is all but conjecture or chimera, and as such only to be regarded: yet I must tell them, I cannot but much incline to this opinion, and think I shall do so till I can see some further evidence of the essentials of kings in them

them than ever yet I did, and can believe that there is so much of spell in that title or epithet that the bare application of it to a person is sufficient, without any thing else, to make him in fact so. But whatever may be the truth as to this, and on which side soever those who are judicious, and more learned in these things than I, may resolve the matter, yet supposing what I have discovered, as my prevailing opinion in the case, to be truth, and that after all the honours done their chiefs by the glorious titles of kings, emperors, allies, &c. they were but chief fathers or captains, and really in the state of nature with the rest of their brethren, I think it is pretty clear the properties of any or all of them in lands were of no greater extent than has been above expressed, and consequently vastly short of what, by many wanting probity and sense, we have been born in hand they were.

I come now to consider the second hypothesis, viz. that how defective or wanting soever their state might be, as to the forementioned requisites of a state of civil society; and though, judging by what was generally practised among them, (every one retaining in his own hands the rights of the law of nature), they seem to have been in that state, yet that they had really quitted it, entered into communities, and by compact, and at least tacit constitutions of their own, settled the matter of property, both with their neighbours respectively, and severally among themselves; and that these forementioned customs, with others of the like nature arguing the state of nature, obtaining among them, were rather from a defect in establishing proper methods for the execution of their laws, than evidences that they had none.

I have already expressed my sentiment in this matter, which, whether it be right or wrong, matters not as to what is now before me, which is to consider this opinion, and see what (upon a supposition of the truth of it) can be determined upon the claims or pretensions of any of them to lands in the country. And I am pretty well assured this opinion, (how fond soever our bigots to native right are of it, yet will less serve that interest, at least in the present day, than the former; in as much as on a supposition of it, though it must be allowed they had a common property, considered as communities or publick bodies; and besides this, that some or all the members of each community

respectively had severally particular properties of their own, exclusive of the rest of mankind, yet) all becomes so perplexed and in the dark, and so many difficulties inextricable, at least in the present day, unavoidably attend all, that nothing certain can be determined upon the properties of any of them, whether communities or particular persons; I shall give some evidence of this, when I have premised this, viz.

That allowing it to be true, that they had quitted the state of nature, and put on some form of civil policy, yet it does not from thence necessarily follow that lands were brought under the regulation of compact, or any positive constitution of their own, (tacit or express); or that they were held by them any otherwise than as in the state and by the law of nature. Certain it is, there is no necessary connexion between those things; the former does not infer the latter. A people may put on some form of policy without any determination of the matter of property in lands, whether by compact with neighbouring polities, or any positive constitutions of their own. And, for my own part, I never yet saw any sufficient reason to conclude there was any thing of this nature done by them before the arrival of the English here: Nor do I think it will seem probable there was, to any that considers their poor, mean, barbarous way of living, the great plenty of all the provisions of nature that required, the very little use they made of the earth further than to walk upon it, together with their want not only of that communication with other parts of the world, but of any thing among themselves that might give a value to the provisions of nature over and above what their own necessities did. Their way of living the poet well describes; when accounting for the golden age, he tells us of men then,

Contentique cibis nullo cogente creatis,
Arbuteos fœtus, montanaque fraga legebant;
Cornaque et in duris hærentia mora rubetis,
Et quæ deciderant patula Jovis arbora glandes.

And men themselves contented were with plain and simple food,
That on the earth, of nature's gift, without their travail stood,
Did live by respis, hipps and haws, by cornets, plums and cherries,
By sloes and apples, nuts and pears, and loathsome bramble berries,
And by the acorns dropt on ground from Jove's broad tree in field.

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Certain it is, nature prepared the main materials of their subsistence, without any art or labour of theirs; they had but little more to do than to catch or gather what they had provided for them. And during this state of things among any societies of men, of what consideration or value can land be to them, especially when these spontaneous provisions of nature, in all places, are in such abundance that there is no danger of want, and all means of communication or trade with other parts of the world, together with the use of money, among themselves, (which things might impair their stock of provisions, and give a value to them over and above what their own necessities did), are wholly wanting, as we all know was the case with the aborigines of the country? Surely it could not be of such value to them as to put them upon a partage or impropriation of it farther than was done before by the law of nature. Let us suppose an island so separated from the rest of the world as to be under an utter impossibility of any commerce with it; wherein there were inhabitants embodied together in civil societies, yet living almost entirely on what nature prepared to their hands, and so disproportioned in number to the quantity of their provisions that after their consumption of what was needful for them, there remained enough for perhaps ten times the number, and at the same time nothing in the island, either because of its commonness or perishableness, fit to supply the place of money; what inducement could such societies have, by any compact, either with one another, or among themselves respectively, to fix a property in lands, beyond what was done in the way before mentioned by the law of nature, for my own part I cannot excogitate any. And who knows not that this was the very case with the persons I am speaking of, before the arrival of the English here. For this reason, I think it highly probable, yea next to a certainty, that such lands only as their poor way of living rendered their tillage of necessary, (and how small a part was this, compared with the rest of the country)? they put any value upon: The rest they looked upon as of no more price, nor advantage to be impropriated, than the air they breathed in: And therefore, like other things of the like nature in all communities, lay neglected in that common state wherein nature left it. Nor let this be thought strange, since, from divine revelation itself, we have pretty good assurance, that

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it is no more than was common in the more early times of the world: There we find that in those days men did not always, immediately upon their entering into society, set out the bounds of their distinct territories, and by laws within themselves respectively settle the matter of property; but suffered a great, may I not say the greatest part of the land? to lie in the same common state it was in before. Even in Abraham's time we find men wandered up and down with their flocks and herds, freely and without molestation, seeking pasture where they liked best; and that Abraham himself did this in a country where he was a stranger, and there were many kingdoms or communities of men, and they not newly formed neither. Which to me seems a pretty good evidence, that at least a great part, yea probably the greatest part, of the land lay in common, that the inhabitants valued it not, at least so far as to think it worth their while to come to a partage of it, and fix their respective properties in it: The reasons of which, no doubt, were their rude, mean, inartful way of living, feeding and clothing themselves mainly with what nature prepared; in which preparations, as they were in great plenty, so probably they had no money, or any equivalent of it, that might give a value to any thing above what their way of living did.

I make no doubt there are those who will not scruple to say, the contrary to this is evident in the aborigines of this country, and that in fact they had, by compact and constitutions positive, (tacit or express), settled the matter of property in lands, each society with its neighbours, and among themselves severally: But be it so, I think it is probable, if not more than so, from what I have said, that they had not; and though I suppose I know the reasons on which they may so assert, as well as they, yet as I think they will scarcely weigh in the balance with the evidence to the contrary given above, so desire to see some further and better reason for it before I believe it. It is very true, that when, after the arrival of the English here, by conversation and commerce with them, they were made sensible of the value of the money they brought with them, and made tender of for land, they could not then but see that the lands beyond what they improved, and so held by the law of nature, might be very profitable to them; and on this, I doubt not, they were full enough in their assertions of this nature, viz. that by

by compact and constitutions of their own, they were entitled to such and such limits respectively; but this, I think, can carry with it little evidence of the thing to one who knows what they were, and withal considers what is universally observable in their posterity, at this day, when such a temptation is laid before them. To all which I may add, what I suppose comes pretty near a demonstration in the case, viz. their palpable contradictions one of the other in their pretensions, or the accounts they gave, on this occasion of their respective claims or properties; one sachem or community often claiming what another did. This who knows not to be fact as to lands in this part of the country,* where the claims of Hiums, Uncass, and Sannup, are found to interfere; the consequence of which has been, that persons claiming under them, have endeavoured each one to set up his title in opposition to the other, to the no small expense of time and money, as well as hurt to the public.

Now supposing this to be so, it is evident the hypothesis or opinion of their having quitted the state of nature, and put on some form of policy, merely, does no service to the interest the zealous assertors of it endeavour to advance by it, does not extend native right one inch farther than the former opinion did: For the unavoidable consequence of it is this, viz. that as no societies of them had any common right or property, as such, so neither had any particular member of those societies any, by virtue of any positive constitutions, or otherwise than by the law of nature; and that setting aside here and there a spot, this or the other person or persons improved, and so impropriated and held by the law of nature, all the rest of the country remained in the same common state wherein it was made, as much the property of the kings of the Indies, on the opposite side of the globe, as theirs. Now, in order to the rendering this opinion of any service to the end for which it is so zealously avouched and advanced by many, it is not enough to assert, yea and make evident too, that our aborigines had quitted the state of nature, and put on some form of policy; but further, as I before observed, that they had, by compact one with another, and positive constitutions, (tacit or express), determined and settled their bounds, and the terms of each community respectively; and after this is done, it will be of no advantage still to the pretensions of any particular community,

* Connecticut.

munity, or any member or members of it, till we are assured what bounds, by compact with its neighbours, it had, and what settlement its constitutions made of the lands within it; which I conjecture none can do without the help of divination.

This brings me to what I proposed, which was to shew, that on a supposition of the truth of this, (viz. that our aborigines were to be considered as in a state of society civil, and had by these consequent acts determined and regulated the matter of property), all their rights or properties instantly become so perplexed, and in the dark, that nothing can be known or determined upon them, and consequently no good title possibly founded on them. And in pursuance of this, and at the same time to convince the bold avouchers of this opinion, I would demand of them in a few things:

1. On a supposition of the truth of this, who can account for the true extent of the common properties of their respective communities or any one of them? If I have not been misinformed, some pains was formerly taken, both in this and some neighbouring governments, for a resolution in this point; and for that end, persons were deputed to inquire and obtain the best light they could of the natives. What success attended these endeavours, in other governments, I know not; but in this, I suppose none at all. It is true, the gentlemen deputed by this government, to inquire into the claim of the Moheags, made return of something to the assembly, which they called an account or description of their claims by certain abutments, and which the assembly so far had regard to, as, if I mistake not, to allow of its entry on record. But yet, can any of those, who would persuade us to think that native right is our only valuable title, acquiesce in this, or think it of any value, when at the same time their neighbours, the Pequots, Quinebaugs, Nahanticks, (all of them as worthy of credit as the Moheags), give another account, some of them claiming all the lands within those limits, saying the Moheags had none, and others of them claiming at least large tracts within them? I suppose none will deny this to be fact; or if there be that shall do so, that the claimers under Hiums and Sannup will stand by me in it. Now if native right be our only valuable title, what shall be done in this case to know where or in whom this right to these lands is? Certain it is,

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if they were communities, or bodies politick, properly so called, they had a federative power; and if, in the exercise of it, they made a partage of the lands, in this part of the country, among them, their title respectively was good, and as good in one community as another; and what shall be done in this case? How shall we be satisfied which of them speaks truth, and consequently where the right is, and of whom to be obtained? Nor can it satisfy any but fools to be able, in this case, to say, they have purchased of the natives. Nor is there any thing, I know of, can help in this case, but a supposal of the falseness of all their pretensions to a partage or impropriation of the lands to any limits: And that whatever compacts they made, determining their bounds respectively, they had therein a sole reference to the hunt or game, and designed only an impropriation of that; at the same time, not having the least regard to the lands, nor caring, excepting as above, who had it, it being a thing of no price to them. And this, as it is undoubtedly the truth of the matter, so reduces the right of property of such lands to some certainty, lets us know where or in whom it is, and to whom we must apply for the fixing a property in them. But supposing this difficulty attending this opinion were removed, and the common right of each community set out by monuments; yet

2. Who could tell us what disposition or settlement the constitution (tacit or express) of each society made of the lands within their limits respectively? The resolution of this is as necessary as the other, in order to a determination upon the extent of the properties of any or all of them. I take it for granted, and think it needs no proof, that as all men, by virtue of the grant of the Most High before mentioned, are not only commoners of the earth, but equally so, none having a right by that to claim more or larger portions of it than others, so that when any numbers of them enter into society, and by compact with neighbouring societies, settle their limits, the lands within such limits are the common right of the community, and equally so; and that the several members remain commoners in an equality, till by constitutions of their own, they make another settlement of them. And because this is supposed (by such as assert the politick state of the natives) to have been done by them long before the arrival of the English here, I therefore demand what

what disposition or settlement did their constitutions make of the lands within their respective limits? When they came to a partage or impropriation, did they impropriate in an equality, or, if not, what other settlement did they make of them? Or if this be thought an unreasonable demand, because of the generality of it, I demand what settlement did the constitutions of any one community (to instance in the Moheags our neighbours) make of the lands within their limits? To be more particular here;

(1.) Where or in whom did they place the lands? I observed but now, they were originally or firstly in the community, and equally so, and must remain so till by acts of their own they make a disposition of them into another hand or hands: And reason will tell every man it must be so. Now, if by acts or laws of their own, they altered the original or primary state of the lands, I demand what was the alteration? Where or in whom did they place or settle them? Did they settle them in any one single person or relation, or in a certain number of men of any certain order or character? On the supposition of the truth of the opinion I am now considering, nothing can be determined of the extent, no, nor the reality, neither of the property of any of them, till this be resolved. I know very well our bigots say here, that their constitutions vested all the lands in their kings, or in the crown, (to use our English phrase); but besides that that is spoken without any proof, or any possibility of it, as I imagine; besides this, I say, allowing it be truth, yet it brings not the state of the lands in any particular community to any certainty, nor resolves us in whom the property of all or any part of them, till we are also resolved in the following particulars also, viz.

(2.) What they intended by sachems or kings, in whom their constitutions vested the lands? Whether such as were so de jure or de facto, i. e. whether such as were rightfully or by the laws and constitutions of the societies so, or in fact only. And in order to this, we must be resolved of the particular form of policy agreed upon in the several societies, viz. whether in case it was monarchical, that they were hereditary or elective monarchies; and not only so, but, moreover, whether Uncass, Sasacus, Aramamet, or any other chief among them, of whom we would obtain lands, be king or monarch, according to the fundamental laws or constitutions

tions of the society, yea or not; For if not, (the lawful king's right of property being merely and altogether from the concession or grant of the community), they cannot have any pretence to it, nor possibly make out a good title to any other.

(3.) We must be resolved how or in what sense they vested the lands in them? Whether so as to make them their inalienable right or property, as the case seems to be with lands in some constitutions: Or alienable: And if in this last sense, whether they were so absolutely put into their hands, that they had right of disposal where and to whom they saw cause, or in trust only for the use and benefit of the societies respectively? In which sense, as I understand it, all lands in our English dominion are by our constitution vested in the king or crown; and lands in this government are by the charter vested in the corporation, and for that reason are alienable from it, and may become the property of others. If their constitutions vested the lands in their kings in the first sense, by what right or authority did they alienate or dispose of them to others? All alienations made by them must be ipso facto void: For if the communities, in vesting the lands in them, gave them no power of alienation, they could have none. If it be said they were vested in them in the second sense, viz. with an unlimited power of making alienation of them to whom they saw cause; I say this is incredible; for if lands were of such value with them that they saw it worth their while to bring them under the regulation of positive constitutions, it is unreasonable to think they should, in this sense, put them into the hands of any person or persons whatever; and by consequence, (supposing the hypothesis, I am now examining, be true, and that lands by their constitutions (tacit and express) were vested in their kings), it cannot be imagined they had right or power to make a partage or division of their dominions among their own children, to the exclusion of the rest of the community: For which reason, I have ever thought Allawanhood's, alias Joshua's right, nothing worth, even upon the very principles of the advocates or assertors of it. And if the last sense be asserted, (which indeed carries with it the greatest probability, if any thing of this nature was done among them), then I demand again, by what right or authority did they divide their dominions among their children, (an instance of which was but now given), or make

conveyances of them to the English? Such alienations must be as void as on the supposition of the truth of the first sense.

(4.) And in case their constitutions vested the lands in their kings in this last sense, viz. in trust, &c. before we can be resolved of the state of the lands in any society, and of the reality and extent of the right or property of any particular member or members of them, we must be resolved also whether any alienations were made by their kings to their subjects, and what they were, together with the tenures in or by which they were to be holden of the grantees?

It is possible in what I have now said, I may not have expressed myself in the most proper terms: It requires perhaps, more knowledge of the law for a person to be able, in an affair of this nature, to do so, than I may pretend to. However, I hope what I have said is intelligible; and being so, may suffice as to what I scope at in it; which is to shew what little service this hypothesis, concerning the aborigines of this country, does to the interest many endeavour to advance and serve by it; and that a supposition of its truth inevitably involves their rights or claims in so many inextricable difficulties, and renders them all so uncertain, perplexed and in the dark, that nothing certain can be known or determined upon them. And though, perhaps, some may think what I have here advanced as necessary, on this hypothesis, to be resolved, in order to a determination upon their rights, absurd, yet I cannot but think all those that think of things, not with the multitude, (who, generally speaking, have too much rubbish in their brains to think of any thing with distinctness), but as they are in themselves, will say, that without a resolution of them nothing can be determined with any certainty upon this matter.

To conclude: The sum of what has been said is this, viz. either they were a people in the state of nature, or they were not. This I suppose, all must allow, there being no third state wherein any persons, either now, or at any time heretofore, were. If they were in the state of nature, they had then right of property only in such lands as they impropriated (and held) by the law of nature, which, as we all know, was only here and there a small spot in the country. If it be said, they had quitted that state, and put on some form of policy, then I say, either they had, by compact and positive constitutions of their own, (tacit or express), settled the matter

matter of property, or they had not; If it be said they had not, then it follows, that the state of the lands in the country was not altered from what it was before; but they all (excepting only what was impropriated by the laws of nature) remained in the same common state, and equally the right of every man, as they were before, while the state of nature continued: Nor was the prince or the peasant distinguished, as to right of property in them, otherwise than as in the state of nature. For as property in lands is not included in the notion of a king, or the want of it in that of a subject; so the making one person a king, and another a subject simply in itself, will not make a right of property, and give it to the one, or banish it from the other, without some other act or acts concurrent with it. If it be said, they had brought the lands in the country under the regulation of compact and constitutions of their own, then it will follow, that they had given up their title by the law of nature, that what was before, by the law of nature, the title of any of them to lands, was not, at least, qua such, their title now; but that what right or title any or all of them had now, was by their constitutions positive, the inevitable consequence of which must be, that till those constitutions are declared, and we assured what they determine upon this matter of property, nothing can be known or determined upon the rights of any of them, we cannot say where or in whom right or property was, whether in the prince or people, some or all of them. And this having never been done, it is beyond me to see of what advantage this hypothesis can be to the end for which it is so zealously asserted by some.

But it is time to hasten to an end. And from the whole that has been said, I cannot but think the following must be allowed to have considerable evidence of truth in them, how contrary soever to vulgar sentiments in the present day, viz.

1. That such lands only as any of our aborigines subdued and improved, they had a good right or title to. For although we are sure they had the law of nature, giving them a right of property, by their labour, in what before lay in common, and was equally the right of every man, yet we are not sure (nor indeed have we so much evidence as amounts to a probability) of their having any other law to entitle them to lands, or any thing else, on any conditions whatsoever.

2. That

2. That supposing their chiefs to be kings or civil heads, properly so called, yet there is more reason to suspect a right of property in them, than in any of their subjects. Yea, the more reason to suspect it, because of their dignity. Nothing ever did or can appear evidencing so much as a probability of such a right in them by the positive constitutions of their communities; and as for acquiring it by labour in subduing and cultivating, it is reasonable to think their exaltation rendered that too great a stoop for them.

3. That supposing the English to be the first (of civilized nations) in the discovery or the country, they had (the royal allowance and favour concurring) an undoubted right to enter upon and impropriate all such parts of it as lay waste or unimproved by the natives, and this without any consideration or allowance made to them for it. Whatever ties prudential considerations might lay them under to acknowledge them, and present them with their gratuities under the notion of their being a price for lands; yet all such lands being like the ocean itself, publici vel communis juris, they could be under no obligation from the head of justice. We have as much assurance of this, as we have that lands were held by the natives only by the law of nature, and of that I think pretty good evidence has been given in what has been said on this argument. And by consequence it follows also,

4. That as that darling principle of many, viz, that native right is the only valuable title to any lands in the country, is absurd and foolish, and may with reason be looked upon as one of our vulgar errors; so that the endeavours of any, whether in more early or later times, to maintain and propagate it, (to the prejudice of new settlements, and not only to the disturbance of honest men in their possessions and improvements, but ejectment out of them, as well as the hurt of the publick, as they have been without any justifying reasons, so) must be looked upon as very culpable. It is well known that not only in the more early days of the country, but in latter times, there have been those, and they not of the plebs only, who, with a great deal of zeal and application, have laid out themselves in this affair; a zeal and application, which, without a crime I think, I may say, would have been more decorous in them had it been othewise employed. Native right, they have told us, is our only title; if we have not this, we have nothing. It is not an easy thing to

to account for the train of evils that have ensued hereupon, not only to particular plantations and persons, but to the publick, in the great delay and embarrassment of business in our assemblies, as well as the multiplication of suits in the law, beyond account. But how unjustifiable must these things be when in all, the persons I am speaking of, have endeavoured to impose upon us but a mere chimera of fiction? I cannot forbare mentioning here, that among other methods improved by them in the management of their designs, one is, they have endeavored rather to work on our passions than our reason, or to fright us into a belief of this doctrine, and a resolution to stand by it, than to gain us over to it by any evidence of its truth. For whereas they have been very sparing of demonstration, they have been as liberal in assurances (or rather asseverations) that it is the only security of our interests against the claim of one beyond the seas; and that if native right will not invalidate the duke's pretensions, we have nothing else that will. Such nonsense as this, were it found only in some of our homunculi, might be easily overlooked, but when men of education and character shall talk at this rate, it is scarcely to be forgiven. Nor is this the worst neither; but what deserves still a more severe censure is their want of truth and honesty in all, or that whereas in all they have acted under the specious umbrage of serving the publick, it is notorious that nothing less than this has been in design with them; but that, on the other hand, they have been under the governing influence of those corrupt views, which (supposing or allowing there were sufficient reasons, in the nature of the thing, for what they have done) could do no other than render them very guilty therein. I think I am nor too severe in this censure, not in the least break in upon charity by it, since they themselves have given and daily give, that evidence of its truth, which (as the blindest eye cannot see, so) amounts to a demonstration in the case.

JOHN BULKLEY.

Colchester, December 24, 1724.

A SKETCH

A Sketch of a History of Guilford, in Connecticut, from a Manuscript of the Rev. Thomas Ruggles.

GUILFORD, whose Indian name was Menunkatuck, was purchased of the native Indians, who dwelt upon the land. The people who purchased and settled it were a part of the adventurers who came in the first embarkation with governor Eaton to Newhaven, for the enioyment of religion and liberty: And this was the first town, excepting Newhaven, that was settled in the colony. The planters were from the counties of Surry and Kent, in England, near London; and gave the town the name of Guilford, from their native place in Surry, from whence they chiefly emigrated. With Messrs. Eaton and Hopkins they first landed at Newhaven, and were of the number who signed the agreement at Mr. Newman's barn, and there abode until the year 1639: And after their removal had an immediate connection with Newhaven, of which the whole colony then consisted, which union and intimacy continued as long as the government lasted; though they were nearly independent. The records of several of the first years are not to be found. There is a tradition, that they were accidentally consumed by fire, with the house in which they were lodged. The first things upon record, which follow, being compared with the records of Newhaven, exhibit a pretty good idea of the first transactions of the settlers, viz.

January 31, 1639. Upon a review of the more fixed laws and orders formerly, and from time to time, made, the General Court, here held the day and year abovesaid, tho't fit, agreed and established them according to the ensuing draught, as follows, viz. First, we do acknowledge, ratify, and confirm the agreement made in Mr. Newman's barn, at Quilliapiack, (now Newhaven), that the whole land, called Menunkatuck, should be purchased for us and our heirs; but the deeds and writings, thereabout, to be made and drawn (from the Indians) in the names of these six planters, viz. Henry Whitfield, Robert Kitchel, William Leetee, William Chittenden, John Bishop, and John Caffinge: Notwithstanding, all and every planter shall pay his quota or share towards all the charges and expenses for purchasing, settling,

settling, surveying, and carrying into execution the necessary publick affairs of this plantation, according to such rule and manner of rating as shall be from time to time agreed upon. The draught of the purchase of writing from the Indians is as followeth, viz.

" Articles of agreement made and agreed upon the 29th day of September, 1639, between Henry Whitfield, &c, English planters, and the Sachem Squaw of Menunkatuck, together with the Indian inhabitants thereof, as followeth, viz. First, that the Sachem Squaw is the sole owner, possessor, and inheritor of all the lands lying between Rutawoo* and Aigicomock† rivers. 2. That said Sachem Squaw, with the consent of the Indian inhabitants, (who are all to remove from thence), doth sell unto the said English planters, all the lands lying between the said Rutawoo and Aigicomock rivers. [The 3d article relates the particulars of the pay, &c.] Signed, *the Sachem Squaw, her mark; Henry Whitfield*, in the name of the rest. Witnesses, *John Higginson, Robert Newman.*"

However imperfect this short account may be, yet from it, it fully appears that the purchase from the natives was full, clear, and satisfactory: That the purchase was made for, and the purchasers acted in behalf of, the planters as well as themselves: That all divisions of the purchased lands were made to the respective planters, in an exact proportion to the sums they advanced in the purchasing and settling the town: And that the Indians, inhabiting the town, were to, and accordingly did, remove from said land. Where they went to, is not certain: The tradition is, that they removed to the Eastward, where Bransord and Easthaven now are: So that there is not one of the original Indians belonging to the township. From Aigicomock or East-river to Tuxisshoag, (a pond contiguous to East-Guilford meeting-house), was purchased of Uncas, sachem of the Mohegan Indians: From which it appears, that the East-river was the western limits of Uncas's jurisdiction. The remaining part of the town, to Hammonasset-river, Mr. Fenwick, of Saybrook, gave to the town, on this condition, that the planters should accommodate Mr. Whitfield (who was his particular friend) with land in the town, agreeable to his mind. There were some small purchases made of particular Indians, within the limits

* Stoney Creek. † East-river.

limits of the township, who claimed a right to particular parts.

As soon as the purchase was completed, the planters removed from Newhaven, though it was almost winter, and settled themselves at Guilford. How the planters conducted themselves until the year 1643, does not appear upon record: only this, the lands were left in the hands of their six purchasers, to whom the Indians gave the deed, as trustees, until a church should be gathered, into whose hands they might commit the fee of the land, to be properly divided amongst the planters. And while they remained in this unsettled state, they chose four of the principal planters, to whom they gave the full exercise of all civil power, for administering justice, and preserving the peace among the planters; whose power was also to continue till the church appeared in form, when their power was to end.

As, therefore, so much depended on this, as soon as their wilderness state would admit, they did, in the month of April, 1643, form themselves into a congregational church, into whose hands the purchasers of the land, and the persons invested with civil power, did actually, in a formal manner, in writing, resign all their rights and authority unto the church gathered on that day. Presently after this, the planters, who were chiefly church members, made regular divisions of all the lands, according to their respective shares, agreeably to their original covenant, and according to their expenses and number in each family, (servants excepted). But their divisions of land were under two restrictions: First, that no one should put into stock more than £500, without liberty: And 2. That no person should sell or alien, in any manner, or purchase the share, or any part thereof, allotted to another, without express liberty from the community. The last article was strictly observed, which proved highly beneficial to the town, by preventing persons engrossing too much land; and sundry persons, who presumed to violate this agreement, were punished by fines and whipping. As this plantation was connected with Newhaven, the inhabitants carefully adhered to the agreement made in Mr. Newman's barn, in all their affairs, religious and civil.

The planters, finding civil goverment absolutely necessary for their subsistance, established a system, as nearly as they could, conformed to the grant from the lords Say and Brook

Brook to Mr. Eaton and company. Their form of government was something singular. Like that at Newhaven, it was a pure aristocracy, yet modelled and exercised in a peculiar way. They had one magistrate, who was Mr. Samuel Desborow, allowed them as a part of Newhaven colony, of which he was one of the assistants and council, who was their head, and invested with the whole executive and judicial power. But the planters were allowed to choose, annually, three or four deputies to sit with him, in judging and awarding punishments in all civil causes, in courts held by him, which were called General Courts. The inhabitants were divided into classes, or orders, by the names of freemen and planters. The freemen consisted of all the church members who partook of the sacrament, and no others were admitted. They were all under oath, agreeably to their plan of government. Out of this number were those deputies, and all publick officers, chosen; and by them was managed all publick business that was regarded either interesting or honourable. The second class included all the inhabitants of the town, who composed their town-meetings, which were styled, emphatically, General Courts. It was however required, that they should be of age, (twenty-one years), and have a certain estate, to qualify them to act in said meetings. In these town-meetings, or general courts, all divisions of land were limited and established, and all the bye or peculiar laws, for the well-ordering the plantation, were made. And, in general, all transgressions of the town-laws, relating to the buying or selling land, were punished, and fines and stripes were imposed and executed, according to the nature of the offence, by the judgment of the said judicial court. Besides these general assemblies of the planters, and the said magistrates' court, they appointed particular courts for the administration of justice, much like our justices' courts at present. These were held quarterly through the year. The magistrate presided in these courts, and deputies were annually chosen to sit in council with him, in these courts also, by the freemen. Like Newhaven, they had no juries in any trial; their deputies, in some measure, supplied that defect. From this court lay appeals, in allowed cases, to the court of assistants at Newhaven. The said Mr. Samuel Desborow was the first magistrate who held the courts. In general, their judgment was final and decisive. Town officers

were annually chosen, viz. marshals, a secretary, surveyors of highways, &c. much in the present manner. Military order and discipline were soon established, and watch and ward were kept, day and night, under a very strict charge; and the punishments for defaults, in this duty, were very severe and exactly executed. Many of the houses were fortified with palisadoes, set deep in the ground. And a guard of soldiers, under a proper officer, was appointed every sabbath, in time of publick worship, that no enemy might surprise them, and this was continued many years. All the laws, orders, and regulations were entered at large upon the town records.

Ecclesiastical Matters.

The Rev. Mr. Henry Whitfield, who led forth this little flock into the wilderness, was their first pastor and minister. He had been episcopally ordained in England. No mention is made on record, or by tradition, of any ordination of him here. As the members of his church came with him, and were his cure in England, gathering the church here seems to have been only matter of form, arising from place and local distance, on their removal; but he exercised his ministerial authority in the same manner, and by the same authority, he had done in England. Neither minister, church, or people, were ever dissenters or separates from the church of England, only by local remove from the realm. The minister and church were as truly such in Guilford as in England: All which rights, powers, and privileges remain to this day; and to depart from its communion, from any pleas of the professors of the church of England, are unreasonable, and without good foundation. Like the church in Newhaven, they required a relation of experiences of members on their admission into the church.

Mr. Whitfield, their pastor, was a well-bred gentleman, a good scholar, a great divine, and an excellent preacher. He was properly the father of the plantation. He loved his flock tenderly, and was extremely beloved by them. He was possessed of a large estate, and by far the richest of any of the planters; all which he laid out and spent in the plantation, for the benefit of it. At his own expense he built a large, firm, (and for those days), handsome stone house, which served as a fort for himself and many of the inhabitants, upon the land allotted to him by the planters, in a very

very conspicuous and delightful place, having an extensive view of the sea in front; and, with a comparatively small expense, might now be made the most durable and best house in the town: [That house has since been handsomely repaired]: A lasting memorial of his greatness and benefactions to the town. In the change of times in England, under the commonwealth, he returned thither. Several of the planters returned with him; among whom was Mr. Desborow, (who was a near relation of colonel Desborow), Mr. Jordan, &c. It was then the general opinion that the whole plantation would be deserted, as they had opportunity to transport themselves and families.

In consequence of his own expenses in purchasing the plantation, and Mr. Fenwick's gift of the eastern part of the town, Mr. Whitfield had a large and very valuable allotment of some of the best lands in the township allotted him.

Upon his return to England, he offered all his estate to the planters upon very low terms; but partly from poverty, but chiefly from a persuasion that they should all follow him, they did not make the purchase; but when it was too late, they repented their refusal. After his return home, he sold his estate to major Thompson, to whose heirs it descended. No mention is made on record of the time of Mr. Whitfield's removal; the tradition is, that he lived in the plantation about twelve years. When he left them, he left Mr. John Higginson, his son in law, their teacher. He was son to Mr. Higginson, first pastor of Salem church. He preached first at Saybrook fort, as chaplain, about the year 1643; after which he removed to Guilford, was one of the seven pillars, and assisted Mr. Whitfield in preaching until his removal. He was never ordained in Guilford; but Mr. Whitfield left him to take care of the flock, as their teacher. In this work he continued about twelve years, and then determined to go to England. After Mr. Higginson's removal, the town was in a very unsettled state for about twenty years. There were several who ministered to them, particularly Mr. Bowers, who had a house and land in the town, but afterwards removed to Newhaven and Derby. In this headless state of the church, they fell into great confusion, by diversity of opinions; many removed to Killingworth, (about ten miles east), which was then settling; some of them returned afterwards, of whom was Doctor Rosseter.

Rosseter. After they had waded through those troublesome times, about the year —— Mr. Joseph Elliot, son of the famous and pious Mr. John Elliot, of Roxbury, the Indian New-England apostle, was ordained over the church here. After he had preached about thirty years, he died, May 24, 1694. Some time after, in the summer of this year, Mr. Thomas Ruggles, of Roxbury, came and preached as a candidate; and in the fall of the year 1695 was ordained pastor of the church, under whose ministry the church enjoyed great peace, and religion flourished, though the seeds of division were then sowed. He deceased June 1, 1728. His eldest son, Thomas Ruggles, succeeded him March 26, 1729, (who was the author of this manuscript.)

LETTER FROM THE REV. DR. BELKNAP TO THE HON. JUDGE MINOT, CONTAINING SOME PARTICULARS RELATIVE TO FIRE-ENGINES, FIRES, AND BUILDINGS, AT DIFFERENT PERIODS, IN BOSTON.

June 30, 1725.

DEAR SIR,

AN anxious desire that the strictest adherence to historical truth, in the most minute instances, may ever be a characteristick of every member of the Historical Society, induces me to send you some observations on an expression in your late elegant address to the newly-incorporated Fire-Society, of which you are the Vice-President.

In page 7, you speak of "eight extensive fires which took place in this town before the introduction of fire engines, *which probably was not till after the year* 1711." The same remark is made by our brother Pemberton, in his "description of Boston," published in our collections for the last year, page 269. "We understand *they had not then* (viz. 1711) *in the town any fire engines;* and the method taken to stop the progress of the fire, by blowing up the houses, had a contrary effect, and served to scatter it."

This last remark I have frequently heard from persons who remembered that great and terrible fire; and the practice of blowing up houses has ever since that time been discontinued. But you and Mr. Pemberton have fallen into a mistake respecting the fire engines. Mr. Caleb Ray, now in the 90th year of his age, was a boy of five years old at the time

time of that fire. He says there were then two engines in the town, one at the north, and the other at the south end; and he well remembers seeing the latter pass by the house, in which he then lived, to go to the fire. These engines were constructed of wood, with iron hoops, as some of the old engines are now; but at what time previous to 1711 they were introduced into the town, he cannot tell.

He also remembers the old meeting-house which was then burnt, but it was not "the first erected in the town" as Mr. Pemberton says. Mr. Ray remembers being told, by one of his ancestors that the first meeting-house stood where the branch bank of the United States is now kept; that it had mud walls and a thatched roof; but that which was burnt stood in the place of the present old brick meeting-house. He told me these things some time ago; but I have refreshed my memory by another conversation with him this morning.

Permit me to communicate one melancholy circumstance attending the fire of 1711. I had it from the late doctor Byles, and it is confirmed by Mr. Ray, both of whom were nearly of the same age. As the fire began in Williams's court, and the wind was southerly, the meeting-house was soon found to be in danger, and some sailors went up into the steeple or cupola to save the bell. Whilst they were engaged in this service, the house was on fire below, and the stairs were consumed. They were seen at work just before the roof fell in, and all perished in the flames.

Several persons were in the same perilous situation when Faneuil-hall was burnt in 1761; they were endeavouring to save the bell, and the stairs were burnt under them; but they were happily delivered by means of a ladder, which being too short, was supported at the bottom on men's shoulders.

It is worthy of remark, that two of the greatest conflagrations in this town, those of 1711 and 1760, began nearly at the same spot; though the direction of the wind being different, in the former south, the latter north-west, the fire raged through different quarters of the town.

Curiosity has led me frequently to remark the various modes of building at sundry periods, especially after any great conflagration. The houses and warehouses near the town-dock, which were rebuilt after the great fire of 1679, were either constructed with brick, or plastered or the outside

side with a strong cement, intermixed with gravel and glass, and slated on the top. Several of these plastered houses are yet remaining in Ann-street, in their original form; others have been altered and repaired. They were two stories high, with a garret in the high peaked roof. Those which were built after the fire of 1711, were of brick, three stories high, with a garret, a flat roof and ballustrade. They are on both sides of Cornhill, and of the State-house. Those built after the fire of 1760, were almost wholly (except shops) of brick and slate. They extend from Devonshire-street, through Water-street, Quaker-lane, Kilby-street, the lower part of Milk-street, and round the east side of Fort-hill. The only remaining ruin of this fire is a brick wall by the side of a smith's shop, the corner of Water and Devonshire streets.

Those which have been erected since the fire of 1787, and some of those since that of last July, are of wood, with three upright stories, and a flat roof, *shingled.* This style of building prevails much at present. Three things ought to be attended to in the construction of such houses. (1.) That between the outside covering and the inside plastering, they be filled in with half-burnt bricks; this renders them warm, and checks the *rapid* progress of fire. (2.) That where two houses are contiguous, they be separated by a brick party wall, rising above the roofs; this has the same effects. (3.) That the shingles of the roof be well painted; this has three good effects; it preserves the shingles; it keeps the rain-water, that is caught in cisterns, very clean; and what is more than all, it prevents the growth of *moss* on the roof, which, when dry, like tinder, is susceptible of inflammation from the smallest spark.

I am, dear sir, with great esteem, your affectionate friend,

JEREMY BELKNAP.

G. R. MINOT, Esquire.

QUERIES

QUERIES RESPECTING THE SLAVERY AND EMANCIPATION OF NEGROES IN MASSACHUSETTS, PROPOSED BY THE HON. JUDGE TUCKER OF VIRGINIA, AND ANSWERED BY THE REV. DR. BELKNAP.

Williamsburg, Virginia, Jan. 24, 1795.

SIR,

HAVING never visited the eastern states, it has been my misfortune never to have had the pleasure of a personal acquaintance with any of those eminent literary characters which that part of the United States has produced, and if I may credit fame, abounds with, more than any other part of our common country: A circumstance, probably not more mortifying to myself, than of real disadvantage to this part of the United States, since a more frequent intercourse, and intimate acquaintance, between the several parts of the Union, would probably contribute more to remove local prejudices, and cement the bond of union, than any other project, unsupported by such a foundation. To supply, as far as respects myself, this inconvenience, in some measure, I have prevailed on my friend, the Rev. Mr. Hust, to favour me with a letter of introduction, which I take the liberty to enclose, and to request your pardon for thus intruding my correspondence upon you; a liberty which private considerations, alone, could scarcely justify on any account, and which, I fear, you will think fully commensurate to the occasion which prompts it.

The introduction of slavery into this country, is at this day considered among its greatest misfortunes, by a very great majority of those who are reproached for an evil, which the present generation could no more have avoided, than an hereditary gout or leprosy. The malady has proceeded so far, as to render it doubtful whether any specific can be found to eradicate, or even to palliate the disease. Having, in my official character as *professor of law in the college* at this place, had occasion to notice the several acts of the legislature on the subject, I find that even before the commencement of the present century an attempt was made to check the importation of slaves, by imposing a duty on them: The act was indeed only temporary, but was renewed as often as the influence of the African company in England would permit. At length the duty was made payable by the

the buyers; but the acts imposing it were still temporary, though constantly renewed whenever an extraordinary supply of money was required; and was gradually increased from five to twenty per cent. ad valorem. As soon as the revolution took place, the legislature passed an act prohibiting the importation of slaves under the severest penalties; and permitting, what had hitherto been prohibited, the voluntary emancipation of them, by their masters. The question of a general emancipation has not, that I know, been brought on the carpet in the legislature; but I am fully persuaded that circumstance is altogether owing to the difficulties which present themselves to every reflecting mind. To assist in removing them, is the object of this letter; for having observed, with much pleasure, that slavery has been wholly exterminated from the Massachusetts; and being impressed with an idea, that it once had existence there, I have cherished a hope that we may, from the example of our sister state, learn what methods are most likely to succeed in removing the same evil from among ourselves. With this view, I have taken the liberty to enclose a few queries, which, if your leisure will permit you to answer, you will confer on me a favour, which I shall always consider as an obligation: And if, in the pursuits in which you are engaged, any subject should occur, in which you may be disposed to obtain information from this quarter, I will not promise to afford it you, but I assure you that I will most faithfully endeavour to do it.

I am, very respectfully, sir, your most obedient and very humble servant,

S. G. Tucker.

Rev. Dr. Belknap.

In consequence of the foregoing letter, the queries which it enclosed were printed, and about forty copies were distributed among such gentlemen as it was supposed would assist in answering them. Some of them gave answers, from which, and from other sources of information, the subsequent facts and observations were drawn, and sent to the querist. April 21, 1795.

J. B.

Queries

Queries respecting the introduction, progress, and abolition of slavery in Massachusetts.

1. The first introduction of negroes or other slaves into Massachusetts?

2. Whether the African trade was carried on thither? at what period it commenced? to what extent it was carried on? when it began to decline? and when it was wholly discontinued?

3. Whether it was carried on by European or American adventurers? by what means its declension first began? whether from legislative discouragement or other causes? and to what causes its abolition is to be ascribed?

4. The state of slavery in Massachusetts when slaves were most numerous? their number when most numerous? their proportion to the number of white persons at that period?

5. The mode by which slavery hath been abolished there? whether by a general and simultaneous emancipation? or at different periods? or whether by declaring all persons born after a particular period free?

6. At what period slavery was wholly abolished? what were their numbers and proportion to the whites at that period?

7. What is the condition of emancipated negroes? is any and what provision made for their education and maintenance, during infancy, or in a state of decrepitude, age or insanity?

8. What are their principal rights or disabilities? if there be any discrimination between them and white persons?

9. Is there any perceptible difference between the general, moral, or social conduct of emancipated persons or their descendants and others?

10. Are intermarriages frequent between blacks and whites? if so, are such alliances more frequent between black men and white women, or the contrary?

11. Does harmony in general prevail between the blacks and white citizens? do they associate freely together? or is there a pre-eminence claimed by the one, and either avowedly or tacitly admitted by the other?

Query 1. The first introduction of negroes, or other slaves, into Massachusetts?

In answer to this query, I have made the following extracts from the most ancient histories, records, and laws, which I have had opportunity of examining.

In the month of June, 1630, governor WINTHROP, and others, who had just before arrived at Salem with the Massachusetts charter, came into the bay or harbour, which is now called Boston harbour, to look out a place for their settlement. Among other scattered planters or traders, who had previously seated themselves on the shores and islands of this bay, they found SAMUEL MAVERICK,* residing on Noddle's island; where he had built a small fort, mounted with four great guns, to protect him from the Indians.

In 1638, JOHN JOSSELYN came to New-England, and lodged at the house of said Maverick, whom he represents as a very hospitable man, "giving entertainment to all comers, gratis."

Whilst he lodged here, he says, "On the 2d of October, 1639, about nine o'clock in the morning, Mr. Maverick's *negro woman* came to my chamber window, and, in her own country language and tune, sang very loud and shrill. Going out to her, she used a great deal of respect toward me, and would willingly have expressed her grief, in English, had she been able to speak the language; but I apprehended it by her countenance and deportment. Whereupon I repaired to my host, to learn of him the cause, and resolved to intreat him in her behalf; for I understood before, that she had been a queen in her own country, and observed a very humble and dutiful garb used towards her, by another *negro*, who was her *maid*. Mr. Maverick was desirous to have a breed of negroes; and therefore seeing she would not yield by persuasions to company with a *negro young man*, he had in his house, he commanded him, will'd she, nill'd she, to go to bed to her; which was no sooner done, but she kicked him out again. This she took in high disdain, beyond her slavery, and this was the cause of her grief."

In a collection of laws respecting servants, enacted between 1630 and 1641, I find the following, viz.

"7. No servant shall be put off for above a year to any other, neither in the life time of their master, nor after their death,

* This was the father of Samuel Maverick, who was one of the commissioners of king Charles II. to the colonies, 1665. See Huchinson, vol. I. p. 230. Josselyn's Voyage, p. 252.

death, by their executors or administrators, unless it be by consent of authority assembled in some court, or two assistants; otherwise, all and every such assignment shall be void in law.

"8. If any man smite out the eye or tooth of his man-servant or maid-servant, or otherwise maim or disfigure them (unless it be by mere casualty) he shall let them go free from his service, and shall allow such further recompence as the court shall adjudge him.

"9. All servants that have served diligently and faithfully, to the benefit of their masters, *seven years*, shall not be sent away empty; and if any have been unfaithful, negligent or unprofitable, in their service, notwithstanding the good usage of their masters, they shall not be dismissed, till they have made satisfaction according to the judgment of authority."

In 1645, the General Court of Massachusetts, which then exercised jurisdiction over the settlements at Pascataqua, "thought proper to write to Mr. Williams, residing there, understanding that the *negroes* which captain Smyth brought, were fraudulently and injuriously taken and brought from Guinea, by captain Smyth's confession, and the rest of the company; that he forthwith send the negro, which he had of captain Smyth, hither; that he may be sent home; which this court do resolve to send back without delay. And if you have any thing to allege, why you should not return him, to be disposed of by the court, it will be expected you should forthwith make it appear, either by yourself or your agent."

About the same time, viz. 1645, a law was made, "prohibiting the buying and selling of slaves, except those taken in lawful war, or reduced to servitude for their crimes by a judicial sentence; and these were to have the same privileges as were allowed by the law of Moses."

Among the laws for punishing capital crimes, enacted in 1649, is the following, viz.

"10. If any man *stealeth* a man or mankind, he shall surely be put to death. Exodus xxi. 16."

Josselyn, in his description of New-England, which he visited twice, and spent ten years in the country, from 1663 to 1673, speaking of the people of Boston, says,

"They have store of children, and are well accommodated with

with servants; of these some are English and others *negroes.*"

These are all the facts which I have been able to collect respecting *negroes*, in the early days of New-England. From thence it appears that slavery did exist in a small proportion; that the laws discouraged it, and that the public sentiment was against it; but that the evil was not eradicated.

No *other slaves* were known here in those days, excepting some of the aboriginals of the country; who had, at various times, submitted themselves to the government, and received its protection; and had enjoyed in a degree the benefits of civilization, and of evangelical missions, so that they were denominated "praying Indians." Of these, some did, in 1675, 6 and 7, join with other natives in a war against the colonies, commonly called king Phillip's war. Such as were taken in arms, were adjudged guilty of *rebellion.* A few of them were put to death, by a judicial sentence; but the greater part were sold into slavery in foreign countries. Some of these latter found their way home, and joined with the hostile Indians, in a severe revenge on the English, in a succeeding war. (See Hist. N. Hampshire, vol. 1. p. 245.)

Query 2. Whether the African trade was carried on thither? at what period it commenced? to what extent it was carried on? when it began to decline? and when it was wholly discontinued?

The African trade never was prosecuted in any great degree by the merchants of Massachusetts. No records or memorials are remaining by which any thing respecting it, in the last century, can be known. There was a connexion in trade between this colony and that of Barbadoes, which was begun about the same time; and some families went from hence to settle there. It is therefore probable that negroes might have been introduced here by means of that connexion.

In 1703, a duty of £.4 was laid on every negro imported; for the payment of which, both the vessel and master were answerable. How long this duty was exacted, I know not.

By the inquiries which I have made of our oldest merchants now living, I cannot find that more than three ships in a year, belonging to this port, were ever employed in the African

African trade. The rum distilled here was the main spring of this traffick. The slaves purchased in Africa, were chiefly sold in the West Indies, or in the southern colonies; but when those markets were glutted, and the price low, some of them were brought hither. Very few whole cargoes ever came to this port: One gentleman says he remembers two or three: I remember one, between 30 and 40 years ago, which consisted almost wholly of children. At Rhode-Island, the rum distillery and the African trade were prosecuted to a greater extent than in Boston; and I believe no other sea-port in Massachusetts had any concern in the slave business. Some times the Rhode-Island vessels, after having sold their prime slaves in the West-Indies, brought the remnants of their cargoes hither for sale. Since this commerce has declined, the town of Newport has gone to decay.

About the time of the stamp-act, this trade began to decline, and in 1788 it was prohibited by law. This could not have been done, previous to the revolution, as the governors sent hither from England, it is said, were instructed not to consent to any acts made for that purpose. The causes of its declension and prohibition will be more distinctly stated, in answer to the 3d and 5th queries.

Query 3. Whether it was carried on by European or American adventurers? by what means its declension first began? whether from legislative discouragement, or other causes? and to what causes its abolition is to be ascribed?

I do not find that European adventurers to Africa had any other concern here, than to procure cargoes of our rum, to assist them in carrying on their business.

A few only of our merchants were engaged in this kind of traffick. It required a large capital, and was considered as peculiarly hazardous, though gainful. It was never supported by popular opinion; and the voice of conscience was against it. A degree of infamy was attached to the characters of those who were employed in it; several of them, in their last hours, bitterly lamented their concern in it; and the friends of seamen, who had perished by the climate of Guinea, or in contests with the natives, became seriously prejudiced against the business.

Reflecting persons were divided in their opinions on the lawfulness

lawfulness of the traffick in slaves. SAMUEL SEWALL, formerly chief justice of the province, publickly protested against it, and wrote a pamphlet, entitled, "Joseph sold, a memorial." Others disliked it from prudential considerations. Many conscientious persons, who would by no means have engaged directly in the trade to Africa, yet, when negroes were brought hither, had no scruple to buy them; because they supposed that an education in "a land of gospel-light" was preferable to one in "heathenish darkness." They contended that the buying them, and holding them in servitude, might be justified by the example of Abraham, and other good men of antiquity; and as his servants were circumcised, theirs were baptized. Labouring people, of the white complexion, complained of the blacks as intruders; and the vulgar reprobated them as the "seed of Cain," and wished them back to their own country.

Not much, however, was said in a publick and formal manner, till we began to feel the weight of oppression from "our mother country," as Britain was then called. The inconsistency of pleading for our own rights and liberties, whilst we encouraged the subjugation of others, was very apparent; and from that time, both slavery and the slave-trade began to be discountenanced. The principal cause was *publick opinion;* and the present generation, at an early stage of life, imbibed that opinion, which has "grown with their growth, and strengthened with their strength."

I shall say more of this, in answer to the 5th query, and will then particularly relate the means by which the trade was prohibited.

Query 4. The state of slavery in Massachusetts, when slaves were most numerous? their number when most numerous? their proportion to the number of white persons, at that period?

We never had any thing like *a census* before the year 1763; and then, being an unpopular measure, it was not very accurately taken. There was another in 1776, and a third in 1784; in all of these, the number of whites stands distinguished from the number of blacks thus.

Years.	Whites.	Blacks.	Proportion.
1763	235,810	5,214	45 to 1
1776	343,845	5,249	65 to 1
1784	353,133	4,377	80 to 1

In 1790, a census of the United States was made by order of the federal government; the schedule sent out on that occasion contained three columns for free whites of several descriptions, which, in the state of Massachusetts and district of Maine, amounted to 469,326; a fourth for "all other free persons," and a fifth for "slaves." There being none put into the last column, it became necessary to put the *blacks* with the *Indians*, into the fourth column, and the amount was 6001. Of this number, I suppose the blacks were upwards of 4000; and of the remaining 2000, many were a mixed breed, between Indians and blacks. If we reckon the blacks at 5000, their proportion to the whites at that time was as 1 to 93.

I am inclined to think that slaves were more numerous before 1763, than at that time, because, in the two preceeding wars, many of them enlisted either into the army or on board vessels of war, with a view to procure their freedom. One of my informants, Prince Hall, a very intelligent black man, aged fifty-seven years, thinks that slaves were most numerous about the year 1745. What their proportion was to the whites, at that time, I have no means to ascertain; but I think it could not have been more than 1 to 40. I do not make use of bills of mortality in estimating their number in proportion to the whites; because the blacks were always more sickly and died in greater proportion.

The winter here was always unfavourable to the African constitution. For this reason, white labourers were preferable to blacks; and as whites were more numerous, there was not much encouragement to the importation of blacks, nor were they ever so prolific here as the whites. In the maritime towns, blacks were more numerous than in the country; and I suppose Boston generally contained nearly one fourth part of the whole number of them. Excepting such tradesmen as rope-makers, anchor-smiths, and ship-carpenters, who employ a great many hands, scarcely any family had more than two; some not more than one; and many none at all. In the country towns, I have never heard of more than three or four on a farm, except in one instance, where the number was sixteen, and this was a distinguished singularity. The greater number of husbandmen preferred white to black labourers.

Negro children were reckoned an incumbrance in a family; and when weaned, were given away like puppies. They have been publickly advertised in the news-papers "to be given away."

The condition of our slaves, however, was far from rigorous. No greater labour was exacted of them than of white people; in general, they were not *able* to perform so much. They had always the free enjoyment of the sabbath as a day of rest. A house of correction, to which disorderly persons of all colours were sent, formed one object of terror to them; but to be sold to the West-Indies, or to Carolina, was the highest punishment that could be threatened or inflicted.

In the maritime towns, the negroes served either in families or at mechanical employments; and in either case, they fared no worse than other persons of the same class. In the country, they lived as well as their masters, and often sat down at the same table, in the true style of *republican equality.*

Persons of illiberal and tyrannical dispositions would sometimes abuse them; but, in general, their treatment was humane, especially if their own tempers were mild and peaceable.

They were never enrolled in the militia; but on days of military training, and other seasons of festivity, they were indulged in such diversions as were agreeable to them.

They were inventoried and taxed as rateable property, but were not so attached to an estate as to be sold with it.

Such of them as were prudent and industrious, purchased their freedom. Some were liberated by their masters; but there was a law against their manumission, unless their masters gave bonds that their estates and heirs should maintain them, in case of sickness or decrepitude, so that they might not become a burden to the public.

Another law forbad them to be out in the streets after nine o'clock in the evening, on pain of being sent to the house of correction. They were forbidden to strike a white man, on penalty of being sold out of the province. The marriage of blacks with whites was probibited. If the man was white, a fine of five pounds was required of him; and fifty pounds was the fine of the person officiating; but the marriage was not annulled. The intercourse of the sexes was often irregular, but not more so than among the same people

people in other parts of America. Some of the owners of slaves were careful to instruct them in reading, and in the doctrines and duties of religion; and there have been instances among the Africans here, of persons who have profited by these instructions, and have sustained a virtuous and exemplary character.

Query 5. The mode by which slavery hath been abolished? whether by a general and simultaneous emancipation? or at different periods? or whether by declaring all persons born after a particular period, free?

The general answer is, that slavery hath been abolished here by *publick opinion*; which began to be established about thirty years ago. At the beginning of our controversy with Great-Britain, several persons, who before had entertained sentiments opposed to the slavery of the blacks, did then take occasion publickly to remonstrate against the inconsistency of contending for our own liberty, and at the same time depriving other people of theirs. Pamphlets and news-paper essays appeared on the subject; it often entered into the conversation of reflecting people; and many, who had, without remorse, been the purchasers of slaves, condemned themselves, and retracted their former opinion. The Quakers were zealous against slavery, and the slave trade; and by their means, the writings of ANTHONY BENEZET, of Philadelphia, JOHN WOOLMAN, of New-Jersey, and others, were spread through the country. NATHANIEL APPLETON and JAMES SWAN, merchants, of Boston, and Dr. BENJAMIN RUSH, of Philadelphia, distinguished themselves as writers on the side of liberty. Those on the other side generally concealed their names; but their arguments were not suffered to rest long without an answer. The controversy began about the year 1766, and was renewed at various times, till 1773, when it was very warmly agitated, and became a subject of forensic disputation at the publick commencement in Harvard college.

In 1767, an attempt was made by the legislature to discourage the slave trade. A bill was brought into the house of representatives "to prevent the unnatural and unwarrantable custom of enslaving mankind, and the importation of slaves into the province." In its progress, it was changed to "an act for laying an impost on negroes imported." It

was so altered and curtailed by the council, then the upper house, that the other house were offended, and would not concur, and thus it failed. Had it passed both houses in any form whatever, governor BERNARD would not have consented to it.

In 1773, another attempt of the same kind was made. It was grounded on a petition from the negroes, which was read in the assembly June 23, and referred to the next session. In January, 1774, a bill was brought in, entitled "an act to prevent the importation of negroes, and others, as slaves into this province." It passed all the forms in the two houses, and was laid before governor HUTCHINSON, for his consent, March 8. On the next day the assembly was prorogued, after a morose message from the governor, between whom and the two houses there had been a warm contest on other subjects. The negroes had deputed a committee respectfully to solicit the governor's consent; but he told them that his instructions forbad it. His successor, general GAGE, gave them the same answer, when they waited on him.

The blacks had better success in the judicial courts. A pamphlet, containing the case of a negro, who had accompanied his master from the West-Indies to England, and had there sued for, and obtained his freedom, was reprinted here; and this encouraged several negroes to sue their masters for their freedom, and for recompense for their service, after they had attained the age of twenty-one years. The first trial of this kind was in 1770. The negroes collected money among themselves to carry on the suit, and it terminated favourably for them. Other suits were instituted between that time and the revolution, and the juries invariably gave their verdict in favour of liberty. The pleas on the part of the masters were, that the negroes were purchased in open market, and bills of sale were produced in evidence; that the laws of the province recognized slavery as existing in it, by declaring that no person should manumit his slave without giving bond for his maintenance, &c. On the part of the blacks it was pleaded, that the royal charter expressly declared all persons born or residing in the province, to be as free as the king's subjects in Great-Britain; that by the laws of England, no man could be deprived of his liberty but by the judgment of his peers; that the laws of the province respecting an evil existing, and attempting to mitigate

mitigate or regulate it, did not authorise it; and, on some occasions, the plea was, that though the slavery of the parents be admitted, yet no disability of that kind could descend to children.

During the revolution-war, the *publick opinion* was so strongly in favour of the abolition of slavery, that in some of the country towns, votes were passed in town-meetings, that they would have no slaves among them; and that they would not exact of masters, any bonds for the maintenance of liberated blacks, if they should become incapable of supporting themselves.

In New-Hampshire, (where I then resided), those blacks who enlisted into the army for three years, were entitled to the same bounty as the whites. This bounty their masters received as the price of their liberty, and then delivered up their bills of sale, and gave them a certificate of manumission. Several of these bills and certificates were deposited in my hands; and those who survived the three years' service, were free.

The present constitution of Massachusetts was established in 1780. The first article of the declaration of rights asserts, that "all men are born free and equal." This was inserted not merely as a moral or political truth, but with a particular view to establish the liberation of the negroes on a general principle, and so it was understood by the people at large; but some doubted whether this was sufficient.

Many of the blacks, taking advantage of the *publick opinion* and of this general assertion in the bill of rights, asked their freedom, and obtained it. Others took it without leave. Some of the aged and infirm thought it most prudent to continue in the families where they had always been well used, and experience has proved that they acted right.

In 1781, at the court in Worcester county, an indictment was found against a white man for assaulting, beating, and imprisoning a black. He was tried at the Supreme Judicial Court in 1783. His defence was, that the black was his slave, and that the beating, &c. was the necessary restraint and correction of the master. This was answered by citing the aforesaid clause in the declaration of rights. The judges and jury were of opinion that he had no right to beat or imprison the negro. He was found guilty, and fined forty shillings. This decision was a mortal wound to slavery in Massachusetts. The

The state of New-Hampshire established their constitution in 1783; and in the first article of the declaration of rights, it is asserted, that "all men are *born* equally free and independent." The construction there put on this clause is, that all who have been *born* since the constitution, are free; but that those who were in slavery before, are not liberated by it. By reason of this construction, (which, by the way, I do not intend to vindicate), the blacks in that state are in the late census distinguished into free and slaves, there being no Indians residing within those limits.

In the same census, as hath been before observed, no slaves are set down to Massachusetts. This return made by the marshal of the district, may be considered as the formal evidence of the *abolition of slavery* in Massachusetts, especially as no person has appeared to contest the legality of the return.

The prohibition of the slave trade was effected in the following manner. In the month of February, 1788, just after the adoption of the present federal constitution by the convention of Massachusetts, a most flagrant violation of the laws of society and of humanity was perpetrated in this town, by one AVERY, a native of Connecticut. By the assistance of another infamous fellow, he decoyed three unsuspecting black men on board a vessel which he had chartered, and sent them down into the hold, to work. Whilst they were there employed, the vessel came to sail, and went to sea, having been previously cleared out for Martinico.

As soon as this infamous transaction was known, governor HANCOCK, and M. L'ETOMBE, the French consul, wrote letters to the governors of all the islands in the West-Indies, in favour of the decoyed blacks. The publick indignation being greatly excited against the actors in this affair, and against others who had been concerned in the traffick of slaves, it was thought proper to take advantage of the ferment, and bring good out of evil.

Accordingly, in the association of the Boston clergy, originated a petition to the legislature, praying for an act to prohibit the equipping and insuring vessels bound to Africa for slaves, and providing against the carrying innocent blacks from home. This petition was circulated, and signed by a great number of reputable citizens. The blacks were urged to present a similar petition, which they did; and fortunately

fortunately another of the same kind, from the society of Quakers, presented at a former session, was then lying on the table. All these were brought up together; and the effect was, an act passed March 26, 1788, "to prevent the slave trade, and for granting relief to the families of such unhappy persons as may be kidnapped or decoyed away from this commonwealth." By this law it is enacted, "that no citizen, residing within this commonwealth, shall, for himself or any other person, either as master, factor, supercargo, owner, or hirer, in whole or in part, of any vessel, directly or indirectly, import, or transport, or buy or sell, or receive on board his or their vessel, with intent to cause to be transported or imported, any of the inhabitants of any state or kingdom in Africa, as slaves, or servants for term of years, on penalty of fifty pounds, for every person so received on board, with intent to be imported or transported, and two hundred pounds for every vessel fitted out with such intent, or so employed;" and "all insurance made on such vessels shall be void." It also further provides for the friends of any person decoyed away, to bring an action, and recover damages, which shall be paid to the injured person at his return, or go to the maintenance of his wife and children. A prohibitory act of the same nature had a few months before been passed in the state of Rhode-Island, and soon after another was passed in Connecticut.

This was the utmost which could be done by our legislatures; we still have to regret the impossibility of making a law *here*, which shall restrain our citizens from carrying on this trade *in foreign bottoms*, and from committing the crimes which this act prohibits, *in foreign countries*, as it is said some of them have done since the enacting of these laws. But a stigma will ever attend their names, and I hope conscience will do its office, and be seasonably heard.

The three blacks, who were decoyed, were offered for sale at the Danish island of St. Bartholomew: They told their story publickly, which coming to the ears of the governor, he prevented the sale. A Mr. Atherton, of the island, generously became bound for their good behaviour for six months; in which time letters came, informing of their case; and they were permitted to return. They arrived at Boston on the 29th of July following; and it was a day of jubilee, not only among their countrymen, but all the friends of justice and humanity.

Query 6.

Query 6. At what period was slavery abolished? what were there numbers and proportion to the whites at that period?

By comparing what is said in answer to queries 4th and 5th, it appears that the complete abolition of slavery may be fixed at the year 1783; that by an enumeration made in the following year, the number of blacks was 4,377, and their proportion to the whites as 1 to 80.

Query 7. What is the condition of emancipated blacks? is any, and what provision made for their education and maintenance during infancy, or in a state of decrepitude, age, or insanity?

If a comparison be made between the former and present condition of this class of people in the New-England states, it may be said that unless *liberty* be reckoned as a compensation for many inconveniences and hardships, the former condition of most of them was preferable to the present. They have generally, though not wholly left the country, and resorted to the maritime towns. Some are incorporated, and their breed is mixed with the Indians of Cape-Cod and Martha's Vineyard; and the Indians are said to be meliorated by the mixture. Some are industrious and prudent, and a few have acquired property; but too many are improvident and indolent, though a subsistence for labouring people is here very easily obtained. Having been educated in families where they had not been used to provide for themselves in youth, they know not how to do it in age. Having been accustomed to a plentiful and even luxurious mode of living, in the houses of their masters, they are uncomfortable in their present situation. They often suffer by damp, unwholesome lodgings, because they are unable to pay the rent of better; and they are subject to many infirmities and diseases, especially in the winter. Those who serve in families of the whites, on wages, if steady and prudent, are the best fed, the best clad, and most healthy; but many of those who have families of their own to support, are oppressed with poverty and its attendant miseries.

The same provision is made by the public for the education of their children as for those of the whites. In this town, the committee, who superintend the free schools, have given in charge to the school-masters to receive and instruct black

black children as well as white ; but I have not heard of more than three or four who have taken advantage of this privilege ; though the number of blacks in Boston probably exceeds one thousand. It is a very easy thing for the children of the poorest families here to acquire a common education, not only at publick, but even at private schools. The means are supplied by the manufactories of wool-cards. Most of the labour is done by machinery ; but the sticking of the wires in leather is done by hand, and is an employment for children. The school-mistresses take the materials from the manufactories, and in the intervals of reading, set the children to work ; which, if they are diligent, pays for their schooling, and perhaps yields some little profit to the mistress. In this mode, the children of blacks, as well as whites, may be initiated in the first rudiments of learning, and at the same time acquire a habit of industry. No schools are set up by the community for the blacks exclusively ; though sometimes they have had instructors of their own colour, and at their own expense.

In age, decrepitude, or insanity, they have the benefit of the laws, which oblige every town to provide for the poor and infirm. In the alms-house of this town, provision is made for invalids and insane of all colours ; and there is a school for children who are born or put there, to which blacks have the same access as whites. When children are of proper age to be bound out, the boys to a trade or a farm, and the girls to serve in families, the persons who take them enter into indentures with the overseers of the poor ; they oblige themselves to perfect the boys in reading, writing, and arithmetick ; to provide them with clothing, and at the age of twenty-one to dismiss them with two suits of clothes and twenty pounds in cash. The girls are to be taught reading, writing, sewing, knitting and housewifery, and to be dismissed at the age of eighteen with suitable clothing. The same indentures are given for blacks as for whites.

In cases where negroes formerly took their freedom without the consent of their masters, and without a legal process, and have since become *paupers*, there is yet a question concerning their support. Some say, that their former masters ought to be at the expense. Others say, that as the publick opinion was in favour of their emancipation, they ought to come

come within the description of state paupers, to be maintained at the expense of the state, and not of any particular town. Others say, they are properly town-charges; but to this it is answered, that they are within no description of town inhabitants; that towns could never give them warning to depart, and that they could never gain a legal settlement. Disputes of this kind are not much known in Boston, but exist in several places in the country. Suits are still pending on this question, and the judges have not formed any system of opinion on the subject. Application has been made to the legislature, and a bill has been before them, but no decision is yet made. In the mean time, they are either maintained by the towns, with some hope of reimbursement from the state, or else by private charity.

By a law made at the same time with the prohibitory act in 1788, all negroes, not citizens of any state in the Union, but resident here, are required to depart in two months, or they may be apprehended, whipped, and ordered to depart. The process and punishment may be renewed every two months. The design of this law is to prevent deserting negroes from resorting hither, in hopes to obtain freedom, and then being thrown as a dead weight on this community.

I will only add under this head, that the negroes are fond of taking the surname of their former masters, or such one as they were most pleased with, not forgetting the *titles* which appended to them, as captain, colonel, doctor, esquire, &c. This shows that they have as much *vanity* as other people.

Query 8. What are their political rights or disabilities? is there any discrimination between them and white persons?

They are equally under the protection of the laws as other people. Some gentlemen, whom I have consulted, are of opinion, that they cannot elect, nor be elected, to the offices of government; others are of a different opinion. For my own part, I see nothing in the constitution which disqualifies them either from electing or being elected, if they have the other qualifications required; which may be obtained by blacks as well as by whites. Some of them certainly *do* vote in the choice of officers for the state and federal governments, and no person has appeared to contest their right. Instances of the election of a black to any publick office are very rare. I know of but one, and he was

was a town-clerk in one of our country towns. He was a man of good sense and morals, and had a school education. If I remember right, one of his parents was black and the other either a white or mulatto. He is now dead.

The blacks are not enrolled in the militia. In time of the insurrection, 1786, they offered their service to governor BOWDOIN, to go against the insurgents, to the number of 700; but the council did not advise to sending them, and indeed there was no necessity for their services.

Query 9. Is there any perceptible difference between the general, moral, or social conduct of emancipated persons, or their descendants, and others?

Gentlemen who have studied this matter with philosophical attention, do not scruple to say, that there is no more difference between them and those whites who have had the same education, and have lived in the same habits, than there is among different persons of that class of whites. In this opinion I am inclined to acquiesce. It is neither birth nor colour, but education and habit, which form the human character.

Query 10. Are intermarriages frequent between blacks and whites? if so, are such alliances more frequent between black men and white women, or the contrary?

Instances of such intermarriages are very rare; and it is said, that the old law prohibiting them, is yet in force; but where the intercourse does take place, it is much more frequent between black men and white women than the contrary. These white women are, I believe, without exception, of the lowest class in society, both for education and morals. Blacks of a virtuous character intermarry with their own colour.

Query 11. Does harmony in general prevail between the black and white citizens? do they associate freely together? or is a pre-eminence claimed by the one, and either avowedly or tacitly admitted by the other?

I am not sensible of any want of harmony in general between persons of different colours, merely on account of that difference. People of loose and debauched characters, and ungovernable passions, especially when they meet at bad

houses, fall into disagreements and quarrels; but these are not much known abroad, unless brought by complaint before magistrates.

The blacks are frequently employed by the whites as servants or labourers; and receive the same wages and treatment as other persons of the same standing.

Perhaps it may be more agreeable to transcribe what was given me in answer to this query by the aforesaid PRINCE HALL. "Harmony in general (says he) prevails between us as citizens, for the good law of the land does oblige every one to live peaceably with all his fellow citizens, let them be black or white. We stand on a level, therefore no pre-eminence can be claimed on either side. As to our associating, there is here a great number of worthy good men and good citizens, that are not ashamed to take an African by the hand; but yet there are to be seen the weeds of pride, envy, tyranny, and scorn, in this garden of peace, liberty and equality."

Having once and again mentioned this person, I must inform you that he is grand master of a lodge of free masons, composed wholly of blacks, and distinguished by the name of the "*African Lodge*." It was begun in 1775, while this town was garrisoned by British troops; some of whom held a lodge, and initiated a number of negroes. After the peace, they sent to England, and procured a charter under the authority of the DUKE OF CUMBERLAND, and signed by the late EARL OF EFFINGHAM. The lodge at present consists of thirty persons; and care is taken that none but those of a good moral character are admitted.

I shall add the following note, written by a white gentleman of the craft, of good information and candour.

"The African Lodge, though possessing a charter from England, meet by themselves; and white masons not more skilled in geometry, will not acknowledge them. The reason given is, that the blacks were *made* clandestinely in the first place, which, if known, would have prevented them from receiving a charter. But this inquiry would not have been made about white lodges, many of which have not conformed to the rules of masonry. The truth is, they are *ashamed* of being on *equality* with blacks. Even the fraternal kiss of France, given to merit without distinction of colour, doth not influence Massachusetts masons to give an

embrace

embrace less emphatical to their black brethren. These, on the other hand, valuing themselves on their knowledge of the craft, think themselves better masons in other respects than the whites, because masonry considers all men *equal* who are *free*, and our laws admit no kind of slavery. It is evident from this, that neither avowedly nor tacitly do the blacks admit the pre-eminence of the whites; but it is as evident, that a pre-eminence is claimed by the whites."

REFERENCES TO THE TOPOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL DESCRIPTION OF BOSTON, PUBLISHED IN VOL. III. OF THE COLLECTIONS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY, FOR 1794. COMMUNICATED BY ITS AUTHOR.

IN page 258, at the date 1669, let it be noted, that the old south spacious *brick* meeting-house in Marlborough-street was not built that year; that is the date of the old *cedar* meeting-house, which was pulled down to erect a new *brick* house on the same ground, by the same church and congregation; the foundation stone of which was laid March 31, 1729.

Page 269, at the date 1711, October, it is said, "The *first* house erected in the town was burnt." Since that publication, I find, by information from some elderly persons, who remember the fire mentioned under that date, that it was not the *first* house built for publick worship, (that house, as expressed in page 257, was sold by the proprietors); but the meeting-house burnt being built before another church was formed in the town, I thought it no impropriety to call it the *first*.

It was the *second* meeting-house burnt at the time referred to, built by the *first church and congregation* gathered in Boston, not on the same spot where the old *wooden* house stood, (the ground where the branch bank now stands), but in its vicinity. At the same date (1711, October) it is said, "We understand they had not then in the town any fire-engines." An elderly citizen, now living, thinks there were two engines. Another citizen, about the same age, does not recollect that there were any; but well remembers the blowing up of some houses was the means of spreading the fire, and occasioned the loss of some lives. Page

Page 271, next to the fire mentioned in February 17, 1767, the following should have been inserted ;

1774, August 10. At or about this time, a fire happened, at midnight, in a large brick dwelling-house in Fish-street, opposite the place formerly called Glidden's shipyard, north end. It consumed the inside of the building, and one house adjoining it. The flames were so sudden and rapid as immediately, on its discovery, to communicate with the staircase, and prevent the escape of those who occupied the chambers, unless by leaping out of the windows, which some did. The loss of property was not so great ; but the loss of lives greater than in any fire in the town we find on record ; (the lives lost in 1711 we do not find to be ascertained). The number now lost is three women and two children, burnt to death.

In page 273, at the conclusion of the account of remarkable fires in Boston, it may not be improper to relate the following *singular* instance of a fire in England, some years ago.

" A gentleman, in the month of August, finding himself very hot, and uneasy in bed, got up before the rest of the family, and took a walk into the garden ; and when he had got to the bottom, turning back again, he cast his eyes upon the house, and saw a flame in his room, fronting the garden ; and in which, when he left it, just before, he perceived not the least symptom of any fire, there being no candle, nor smoke, nor any thing like it. He ran, very much amazed, and found his night-cap, which he had thrown carelessly upon a table in the room, all in a flame, which he happily extinguished, upon his timely discovery, before it had done any other damage than burning part of his cap, and the covering of the table. This accident, which might have been attended with dreadful consequences, was occasioned merely by a *globular* decanter, filled with water, being set upon the table, the sun shining upon it, and the gentleman happening to throw his cap upon the proper focal distance of the refracted rays which passed through said body of water in the decanter. The gentleman, afterwards, for experiment's sake, fired his cap again, by placing that, and the decanter of water, in the same position, that he might have no doubt of the cause of so unexpected an event.

Account of Burials and Baptisms in Boston, from the Year 1701 to 1774.

THE following account of burials is taken from the newspapers, chiefly from the Boston Gazette. To which we have added various collections from the records of churches, and private manuscripts.

It may not only gratify a certain class of readers, whose studies are thought by some to be *more curious* than useful; but afford satisfaction to all those who wish to compare the state of the town, and judge of the health and numbers of the inhabitants, at different times of the present century.

The more critical years of mortality are noted. Vide. No. 4, Boston Gazette, 1753.

Years.	*Whites.*	*Blacks.*	*Total.*
1701	146		
1702*	441	[No account till the year 1704.]	
1703	159		
1704	203	17	220
1705	238	44	282
1706	216	45	261
1707	225	38	263
1708	245	46	291
1709	295	82	377
1710	248	47	295
1711	305	58	363
1712	270	46	316
1713†	380	100	480
1714	340	73	413
1715	281	55	336
1716	284	71	355
1717	371	80	451
1718	334	46	380
1719	255	51	304
1720	261	68	329
1721‡	968	134	1102

* *Small Pox* spread through the town, after 13 years absence. About 300 people died of this disorder, (not counting 13 blacks). It began to spread in July, the most burials were in December, being 74 of the 300.

† Measles.

‡ Small-Pox spread: 844 died of it, out of 5989 who were sick with it. 1 in 7 nearly, 286 were inoculated, six of whom died. Eneas Salter, who was employed by the selectmen to make a scrutiny, as Dr. Douglass relates, found the number of persons who continued in the town, were 10567, whereof about 700 escaped. Greatest number of deaths in October.

Years.	Whites.	Blacks.	Total.	Baptisms
1722	240	33	273	
1723	342	71	413	
1724	360	47	407	
1725	268	56	324	
1726	290	53	343	
1727	373	106	479	
1728	385	113	498	
1729*	471	99	570	
1730†	749	160	909	
1731‡	318	90	408	563
1732	400	99	499	526
1733	374	84	458	526
1734	440	88	528	536
1735	370	85	455	579
1736‖	532	85	617	514
1737	516	91	607	519
1738	476	100	576	530
1739	468	86	554	499
1740	568	136	704	591
1741	455	100	555	680
1742	445	72	517	716
1743	536	84	620	585
1744	425	72	497	566
1745	706	74	780	573
1746§	479	99	578	480
1747	710	67	777	492
1748	626	114	740	504
1749	581	96	677	493
1750	507	97	604	533
1751	548	76	624	488
1752¶	893	116	1009	357
1753	418	63	481	376
1754	380	54	434	439

Years.

* Measles spread, but favourable; few died of the distemper.

† The Small-pox spread, and above 400 died of it. Greatest number of deaths in June. Inoculation allowed in March. 4000 may be said to have it, according to Douglass; and he says 500 died; others less by 100. There was no exact scrutiny.

‡ The account of baptisms before the year 1731, could not be obtained. No adults are reckoned in this list.

‖ Dr. Douglass has given a practical history of an eruptive military fever, with a throat-distemper, which prevailed in 1735 and 1736.

§ About this time an epidemical fever prevailed, which proved very mortal.

¶ Small-pox spread through the town. 7669 had it, of which died 569.

Years.	Whites.	Blacks.	Total.	Baptisms.
1755	419	65	484	442
1756	461	65	526	441
1757	361	73	434	415
1758	467	57	524	423
1759*	565	64	629	376
1760	508	68	576	417
1761	448	66	456	412
1762	390	33	531	418
1763	344	63	407	418
1764†	471	77	548	367
1765‡	508	52	560	479
1766	400	45	445	424
1767	403	65	468	439
1768	369	48	417	414
1769	579	66	645	440
1770	404	79	483	445
1771	423	59	482	399
1772§	458	59	517	373
1773	533	62	595	486
1774	546	50	596	521

With this account of burials, we may compare Dr. Douglass's statement of the number of inhabitants at different periods.

In the beginning of this century, the inhabitants of Boston, blacks included, were about 6750, and the burials, *communibus annis*, about 230.

Anno 1720, the inhabitants were *circiter* 11,000 ; and burials, *communibus annis*, about 350.

Anno 1735, (1729 and 1730 were measles and small-pox years) the inhabitants were about 15,000 ; and burials, *communibus, annis*, 500.

He declares, likewise, that in 1752, this was the true state of those who died of the small-pox, and who had the disorder.

He is *always* positive, and *sometimes* accurate.

Small-pox

* Measles.

† Small-pox spread through the town.

‡ It may be noticed that in several instances, greater numbers have died the year after, than the year in which a disorder has prevailed.

§ Measles.

	Whites.	Blacks.
Small-pox in the natural way	5059	485
died	452	62
by inoculation	1970	139
died	24	7
Sick in 17 families	23	
Persons who have not received it	174	

The scrutiny reported, that the total of residenters were 15,734, whereof 1544 were negroes. There were about 1800 who fled from the small-pox.

It is to be sincerely regretted that no regular account is kept of births and burials; nor has been, since the revolution. Every child born, ought to have his name entered in the office of the town clerk: And as we have a census of the inhabitants, it would be an easy matter for a person of leisure to observe how many burials there are. The keepers of the several burial places might give an account, once a week, to the printers, as they did formerly. Would it not be worth while for some young printer to engage to publish accordingly? There are a number of the inhabitants would engage to encourage the paper on this very account.

Copy of a curious Paper concerning the Inhabitants of this Government.

IN Chalmers' political annals, there is a curious paper concerning the inhabitants of this government, taken from *New-England entries in the plantation office*, entitled,

"Observations made by the curious on New-England about the year 1673, which was given to Randolph 1673 for his direction, that he may prove or disprove them."

M

There are about { 120 souls, 13 families, 16 that can bear arms.

There are { 12 ships of between 100 and 200 tons, 190 20 and 100 do. 500 fisher boats about 6 do.

There are not { 12 ships of 200 tons each, 500 fishing boats.

There

There be 5 iron works, which cast no guns.

There are fifteen merchants, worth about 50,000 £. or about 500, one with another.

500 persons, worth each 3000 £.

No house in New-England has more than 20 rooms.

Not 20 houses in Boston which have 10 rooms each.

About 1500 families in Boston.

The worst cottages in New-England are lofted.

No beggars.

Not three persons put to death for theft (annually).

About 35 rivers and harbours.

About 23 islands and fishing places.

The three provinces of Boston, Maine, and New-Hampshire, make three fourths of the whole in wealth and strength. The other three of Kennecticut, Rhode-Island, Kennebeck, being but one fourth of the whole in effect. Not above three of their military men have been actual soldiers, but many such soldiers as the artillery-men at London.

Among the magistrates, the most popular are
- Leverett, the governor,
- Major Dennison,
- Major Clarke,
- Mr. Bradstreet.

Among the ministers,
- Mr. Thacher,
- Mr. Oxenbridge,
- Mr. Higginson.

There are no musicians by trade.

A dancing school was set up; but put down.

A fencing school is allowed.

All cordage, sail cloth, and nets, come from England.

No cloth made there worth 4*s*. a yard.

No linen above 2*s*6.

No allum, nor copperas, nor salt made by their sun.

They take an oath of fidelity to the governor, but none to the king.

The governor is chosen by every freeman.

A freeman must be
- Orthodox,
- Above 20 years old,
- Worth about 200 £.

COPY OF A LETTER SENT FROM DUBLIN, IN IRELAND, TO MR. PROVOST DUNSTER, IN THE YEAR 1655.

HONOURED FRIEND,

I AM wholly a stranger to you, further than as to report, which hath spread itself to the rejoicing of many that fear the Lord; and hearing that your portion hath been to suffer in some measure for the cross of Christ, myself and some others, that truly love you on the ground aforesaid, made it our request to the truly virtuous lord deputy, to provide for you in this land; who readily embraced the same, and ordered fifty pounds for the bringing over yourself and family, as you may see by a copy of his lordship's and council's inclosed, with directions for me to send to you; which moneys I have sent by Mr. John Milam, of Waterford, once an inhabitant of New-England, who is bound with a ship to some parts of New-England, and who will send to you, and contrive your passage, and advise you as to the state of this country, and the christians among us. You need not fear accommodations here; though I hope that will not be your chief motive, but rather the honour of the Lord, and his great name. You may, through mercy, have free liberty of your conscience, and opportunity of associating with saints, and free publishing the gospel of truth, which is greatly wanted amongst us, there being but few able and painful men, who make the service of God their work. I pray be not discouraged at any thing you have heard, or shall hear, of this place; but consider the providence of God, who so unexpectedly, as to you, calls for your remove. Paul did not, in the like case, confer with flesh and blood; (haply you may have less reason, in some respects, so to do). I desire you to have a care, knowing that there is a crafty one, that lies in wait for to deceive. I shall add no more, but desire you to consider, that it is the duty of a christian to be guided by the call of God; and to be, and do, whatever he shall require from him; by which rule I desire you to walk; and the God of mercy be your counsellor herein, and guide you in the way he would have you to walk, and that his presence may attend you to the perfecting of your race with joy, and witnessing a good confession before men; that so,

in

in the end, you may be perfected in the joy and glory of the Lord at his appearing; in whom I trust to be found.

Yours and all saints' sincere friend and servant,

EDWARD ROBERTS.

Dublin, 3d, 1655.

Received 10th July, 1656, from the hand of

GOODWIT PRICE.

The order of the council inclosed.

ACCOUNT OF THE FIRST CENTURY LECTURE, HELD AT SALEM.

HAVING met with the following article, in an old publick paper, relative to the ecclesiastical history of Massachusetts-bay, the writer copied it, to be preserved in the collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, if approved by the editors.

"*Salem, August* 6, 1729. On Wednesday was celebrated the *first century lecture*, in the meeting-house of the first church here, in commemoration of the good hand of the Lord in founding that church, on August 6, 1629; just one hundred years ago; enlarging, and making her the mother of several others, and preserving and blessing her to this day. She was the first congregational church that was completely formed and organized in the whole American continent, which was on the day abovementioned, when the Rev. Mr. [Francis] Higginson was ordained the teacher, and the Rev. Mr. Skelton their pastor. Governor Bradford, and others, deputed from the church at Plymouth, coming into the assembly in the time of the solemnity, (having been hindered by contrary winds), gave them the right hand of fellowship; wishing all prosperity, and a blessed success to such good beginnings.

"The century lecture began with singing psalm cxxii. The Rev. Mr. Barnard then prayed. We then sang psalm cvii. 1 to 8. The Rev. Mr. Fisk then preached a very agreeable sermon from psalm lxxviii. 1 to 7. We than sang psalm xliv. 1, 2, 6, 7 verses. The Rev. Mr. Prescott then prayed. We then sang psalm c. first metre, and the Rev. Mr Fisk pronounced the blessing.

"There

"There were thirteen ministers present, and a considerable confluence of people both from this place, and the towns about."

ANSWERS OF THE GENERAL COURT OF CONNECTICUT TO CERTAIN QUERIES OF THE LORDS OF THE COMMITTEE OF COLONIES.

THE following answers of the General Court to the lords of the committee of colonies, disclose a variety of curious particulars of the state of Connecticut, at the end of 44 years.

From New-England papers in the plantation office. Vid. Chalmers' political annals.

The queries are implied in the answers.

1. We have two General Courts, as stated in the charter. Two courts of assistants for the trial of capital offences. Our colony in 4 counties; 2 county courts in each, annually, of magistrates and juries for actions of debt.

2. The legislative is only in the General Court. The executive in these courts appointed, as before.

3. We have little traffick abroad, and therefore little occasion for a court of admiralty, distinct from the court of assistants.

4. We have sent one of our law books. Your lordships will take notice, whether any are made repugnant to the laws of England.

5. As to the number of our forces, we have only one troop of 60 horse, and are raising three more. Our forces are train bands. In each county there is a major, who commands its militia, under the general.

In Hartford	county there are	835
New-London	do.	509
New-Haven	do.	623
Fairfield	do.	540.

6. We have one fort at the mouth of Connecticut river; good towns we have, one especially, New-London, formerly Pequot, &c.

7. It is rare any pirates or privateers come on these dangerous coasts; two years ago a French one wintered at New-London.

8. As

8. As for Indian neighbours, we compute them 500 fighting men. Our chief trade for procuring clothing is by sending what provisions we raise to Boston, where we buy goods. The trade with the Indians is worth nothing, because their frequent wars hinder them from getting peltry.

9. We have neighbourly correspondence with New-Plymouth; with Massachusetts; since major Androse came to New-York, with him; but not with his predecessor: With Rhode-Island we have not such good correspondence as we desire.

10. Our boundaries are as expressed in the charter: We cannot guess the number of acres settled or manurable; the country being mountainous, full of rocks, hills, swamps, and vales; what is fit, is taken up; what remains, must be gained out of the fire, by hard blows, and for small recompence.

11, 13. Our principal towns are Hartford, New-London, New-Haven, and Fairfield. Our buildings generally of wood; some are of stone and brick; and some of good strength, and comely, for a wilderness. We have 26 small towns already seated; in one of them is two churches. Our rivers are numerous and navigable.

14, 15. The commodities of the country are provisions, lumber, and horses; but we cannot guess the yearly value. The most are transported to Boston, and bartered for clothing. Some small quantity is sent to the Caribbee islands, and bartered for products and some money. And now and then (rarely) vessels are sent to Fayal and Madeira, and the cargoes bartered for wine. We have no need of Virginia trade, as most people plant so much tobacco as they need. We have good materials for ship-building The value of our annual imports amount probably to 9000 £. We raise no salt-petre.

16, 20. We have about 20 petty merchants. Some trade to Boston, some to the West-Indies, and other colonies; but few foreign merchants trade here. The number of our planters is included in the training bands, which consist of all from 16 to 60 years of age. There are but few servants, and but fewer slaves; not more than 30 in the colony. There are so few English, Scotch, or Irish, come in, that we can give no account of them. There come sometimes 3 or 4 blacks from Barbadoes, which are sold for 22 £. each.

We

We do not know the exact number of persons born, nor of marriages, nor of burials, but the increase is as follows:—In 1671, the number of men were 2050; in 1676, were 2303; in 1677, were 2362; in 1678, were 2490; in 1679, were 2507.

21, 25. We cannot guess the estates of the merchants; but the property of the whole corporation doth not amount to 110,788 £. sterling. Few vessels trade here but from Boston and New-York, which carry off our produce. Twenty-four small vessels belong to the colony. The obstruction to trade is owing to want of estates, and to the high price of labour. Commerce would be improved, were New-London, New-Haven, and Fairfield, made free ports for 15 or 20 years. This would increase the trade and wealth of this poor colony. There are no duties on goods, exported, or imported, except on wines and liquors; which, though inconsiderable, are appropriated to maintain free schools.

26. 27. The people are strict Congregationalists. A few more, large Congregationalists; and some moderate Presbyterians; but the Congregationalists are the greatest number. There are about 4 or 5 *Seven-day men*, and about as many *Quakers*. Great care is taken of the instruction of the people in the christian religion, by ministers catechising and preaching twice every sabbath, and sometimes on lecture days; and also by masters of families instructing their children and servants, which the law commands them to do. We have 26 towns, and there are 21 churches in them, and in every one a settled minister, except two lately planted. The stipend is from 50 to 100l. Every town maintains its own poor: But there is seldom any want, because labour is dear, being from 2*s.* to 2*s*6 a day for a labourer; because provisions are cheap; wheat is 4*s.* per bushel, peas 3*s.* indian corn 2*s*6. pork 3*d.* a pound, beef 2*d*¼. butter 6*d.* and so other matters in proportion. Beggars and vagabonds are not suffered; but when discovered, they are bound out to service. Vagabonds who pass up and down, are punished by the law.

William Leate, Gov.
John Allen, Secr'y.

15 July, 1680.

To the Publick.

☞ The collections of the Historical Society are not designed as a vehicle of controversy between individuals, respecting their characters or interests. But in our first number for the present year, (page 65, 66), a postscript of a letter from the Rev. Gideon Hawley was *inadvertently* admitted, containing some assertions respecting two gentlemen in the county of Barnstable, which they have since contradicted. A letter, accompanied with several depositions, tending to disprove the facts asserted, is lodged in the hands of the Rev. James Freeman, recording secretary, and may be seen by any person who is desirous of information; but nothing farther on the subject will be published by this society.

As there have been already printed very particular accounts of the earthquakes in New-England, which may be found in *the* 1*st vol. of the transactions of the American Academy*, and in the *Lecture upon Earthquakes*, by the late excellent professor Winthrop, the editors of the Historical Collections are desired to publish in one of their numbers the full account of the earthquake at Port-Royal, in Jamaica, 1692, which was written by the minister of that place, from aboard the Granada, in *Port-Royal harbour*, and is well worth preserving as a specimen of *natural history*. It was printed at London, on a half sheet of paper, for *Jacob Tonson*.

The first Letter, dated June 22, 1692.

Dear Friend,

I DOUBT not but you will both from gazettes and letters hear of the great calamity that hath befallen this island by a terrible earthquake, on the 7th instant, which hath thrown down almost all the houses, churches, sugar-works, mills, and bridges through the whole country. It tore the rocks and mountains, destroyed some whole plantations, and threw them into the sea. But Port-Royal had much the greatest share in this terrible judgment of God: I will therefore be more particular in giving you an account of its proceedings in this place, that you may know what my danger was, and how unexpected my preservation.

On

On Wednesday the 7th of June, I had been at church reading prayers, which I did every day since I was rector of Port-Royal, to keep up some shew of religion among a most ungodly debauched people; and was gone to a place hard by the church, where the merchants used to meet, and where the president of the council was, who acts now in chief till we have a new governor. This gentleman came into my company and engaged me to take a glass of wormwood wine with him, as a whet before dinner.

He being my very great friend, I staid with him. Hereupon he lighted a pipe of tobacco, which he was pretty long a taking; and not being willing to leave him before it was out, this detained me from going to dinner to one captain Ruden's where I was to dine; whose house upon the first concussion sunk into the earth, and then into the sea, with his wife and family, and some who were come to dine with him. Had I been there I had been lost. But to return to the president, and his pipe of tobacco. Before that was out, I found the ground rolling and moving under my feet, upon which I said, Lord, sir, what is this? He replied very composedly, being a very grave man, it is an earthquake, be not afraid, it will soon be over: But it increased, and we heard the church and tower fall; upon which, we ran to save ourselves. I quickly lost him, and made towards Morgan's fort, which being a wide open place, I thought to be there securest from the falling houses: But as I made toward it, I saw the earth open and swallow up a multitude of people, and the sea mounting in upon us over the fortifications.

I then laid aside all thoughts of escaping, and resolved to make toward my own lodging, there to meet death in as good a posture as I could: From the place where I was, I was forced to cross, and run through two or three very narrow streets. The houses and walls fell on each side of me. Some bricks came rolling over my shoes, but none hurt me. When I came to my lodging, I found there all things in the same order I left them; not a picture, of which there were several fair ones in my chamber, being out of its place. I went to my balcony to view the street in which our house stood, and saw never a house down there, nor the ground so much as cracked. The people seeing me, cried out to me to come and pray with them. When I came into the street every one laid hold on my clothes and embraced me, that

with

with their fear and kindness I was almost stifled. I persuaded them at last to kneel down and make a large ring, which they did. I prayed with them near an hour, when I was almost spent with the heat of the sun, and the exercise. They then brought me a chair; the earth working all the while with new motions, and tremblings, like the rollings of the sea; insomuch that sometimes when I was at prayer I could hardly keep myself upon my knees.

By that time I had been half an hour longer with them, in setting before them their sins and heinous provocations, and seriously exhorting them to repentance, there came some merchants of the place; who desired me to go aboard some ship in the harbour, and refresh myself, telling me that they had gotten a boat to carry me off. I found the sea had entirely swallowed up the wharf, with all the goodly brick houses upon it, most of them as fine as those in Cheapside, and two entire streets beyond that. From the tops of some houses which lay levelled with the surface of the water, I got first into a canoe, and then into a long-boat, which put me aboard a ship called the Siam-merchant. There I found the president safe, who was overjoyed to see me; and continued that night, but could not sleep for the returns of the earthquake almost every hour, which made all the guns in the ship to jar and rattle.

The next day I went from ship to ship to visit those who were bruised, and dying; likewise to do the last office at the sinking of several corps which came floating from the point. This indeed hath been my sorrowful employment ever since I came aboard this ship with design to come to England; we have had nothing but shakings of the earth, with thunder and lightning, and foul weather ever since. Besides the people being so desperately wicked, it makes me afraid to stay in the place: For that very day this terrible earthquake happened, as soon as night came on, a company of lewd rogues, whom they call privateers, fell to breaking open ware-houses, and houses deserted, to rob and rifle their neighbours whilst the earth trembled under them, and the houses fell on some of them in the act: And those audacious whores who remain still upon the place, are as impudent and drunken as ever.

I have been twice on shore to pray with the bruised and dying people, and to christen children, where I met too

many drunk and swearing. I did not spare them, nor the magistrates neither, who have suffered wickedness to grow to so great a height. I have, I bless God, to the best of my skill and power, discharged my duty in this place, which you will hear from most persons, who come from hence, I have preached so seasonably to them, and so plain. In the last sermon I delivered in the church, I set before them what would be the issue of their impenitence and wickedness so clearly, that they have since acknowledged it was more like a prophecy than a sermon. I had, I confess, an impulse on me to do it; and many times I have preached in this pulpit, things, which I never premeditated at home, and could not, methought, do otherwise.

The day when all this befel us was very clear, and afforded not the suspicion of the least evil; but in the space of three minutes, about half an hour after eleven in the morning, Port-Royal, the fairest town of all the English plantations, the best emporium and mart of this part of the world, exceeding in its riches, plentiful of all good things, was shaken and shattered to pieces, sunk into and covered, for the greater part, by the sea, and will in a short time be wholly eaten up by it: For few of those houses that yet stand, are left whole, and every day we hear them fall, and the sea daily encroaches upon it. We guess that by the falling of the houses, opening of the earth, and inundation of the waters, there are lost fifteen hundred persons, and many of good note; of whom my good friend attorney-general Musgrove is one, provost-marshal Reves another, my lord secretary Reves another. William Turner, Thomas Turner's brother, is lost: Mr. Swymer escaped, but his house-mate, Mr Watts, perished.

I came, as I told you, on board this ship in order to return home: But the people are so importunate with me to stay, that I know not what to say to them. I must undergo great hardships if I continue here, the country being broken all to pieces and dissettled. I must live now in a hut, eat yams and plantans for bread, which I could never endure; drink rum-punch and water, which were never pleasing to me. I have written to send a younger person, who may better endure the fatigue of it than I can: But if I should leave them now, it would look very unnatural to do it in their distress; and therefore whatever I suffer I would not have such

such a blame lie at my door; so that I am resolved to continue with them a year longer. They are going all in haste to build a new town near the rock in Linnavea, the guardian of this island. The French from Petit Goavias, did attack this island on the north side; but were all defeated and destroyed, it being about the time of the earthquake.

Second Letter, June 28, 1692.

Ever since that fatal day, the most terrible that ever I saw in my life, I have lived on board a ship; for the shakings of the earth return every now and then. Yesterday we had a very great one, but it seems less terrible on ship board than on shore; yet I have ventured to Port-Royal no less than three times since its desolation, among the shattered houses, to bury the dead, pray with the sick, and christen the children. Sunday last I preached among them in a tent, the houses which remain being so shattered, that I durst not venture in them. The people are overjoyed to see me among them, and wept bitterly when I preached: I hope by this terrible judgment, God will make them reform their lives, for there was not a more ungodly people on the face of the earth.

It is a sad sight to see all this harbour, one of the fairest and goodliest I ever saw, covered with the dead bodies of people of all conditions, floating up and down without burial: For our great and famous burial-place, called the palisadoes, was destroyed by the earthquake; which dashing to pieces the tombs, whereof there were hundreds in that place, the sea washed the carcasses of those, who had been buried, out of their graves. Multitudes of rich men are utterly ruined, whilst many, who were poor, by watching opportunities, and searching the wrecked and sunk houses, (even almost while the earthquake lasted, and terror was upon all the considerable people) have gotten great riches.

We have had accounts from several parts of these islands, of the mischiefs done by the earthquake. From St. Anns we hear of above 1000 acres of woodland changed into the sea, and carrying with it whole plantations. But no place suffered like Port-Royal; where whole streets (with inhabitants) were swallowed up by the opening earth, which then shutting upon them, squeezed the people to death. And in that

that manner several are left buried with their heads above ground; only some heads the dogs have eaten; others are covered with dust and earth, by the people who yet remain in the place, to avoid the stench.

Thus I have told you a long and a sad story; and God knows what worse may happen yet. The people tell me, that they hear great bellowings and noises in the mountains; which makes some very apprehensive of an eruption of fire: If so, it will, I fear, be more destructive than the earthquake. I am afraid to stay, and yet I know not how, in point of conscience, at such a juncture as this, to quit my station.

Some farther accounts of the same Earthquake, from the Philosophical Transactions.

A great part of Port-Royal is sunk:* That where the wharfs† were, is now some fathoms deep under water. All the street where the church stood is overflowed; so that the water is arisen as high as the upper rooms of those houses which are standing.

The earth when it opened, swallowed up people, and they rose in other streets; some in the middle of the harbour, and yet were saved: Although at the same time, I believe there were lost above two thousand whites and blacks. In the north, above one thousand acres of land sunk, and thirteen people with it. All our houses were thrown down all over the island, that we were forced to live in huts.‡ The two great mountains, at the entrance into 16 mile walk, fell, and meeting, stopt the river: So that it was dry from that place to the ferry for a whole day; and vast quantities of fish were taken up, greatly to the relief of the distressed and terrified inhabitants. At Yellows, a great mountain split, and falling into the level land, covered several settlements, and destroyed nineteen white people. One of the persons whose name was Hopkins, had his plantation removed half a mile from the place where it formerly stood, and now good provisions grow upon it.§

The surprising accidents mentioned in the above paragraph

* Another says nine parts in ten of the town was shook down, and drowned in two minutes time.
† The account from whence the former note was taken, says, the wharf side was swallowed in less than one minute, and that very few escaped there.
‡ Doubtless those of the negroes which stood the shock.
§ Phil. Trans. p. 88. Abridg. p. 411

graph are confirmed by the accounts of others. Dr. Morley writes, that in several places of the country the earth gaped prodigiously. He adds, that on the north side, the planters' houses, with the greater part of their plantations, (and the planters' houses are not very near to one another) were swallowed, houses, people, trees, all up in one gape ; instead of which appeared for some time a great pool or lake of water, covering above 1000 acres :* But that this lake is since dried up, and nothing is now seen but a loose sand or gravel, without any the least mark, or sign left whereby one may judge that either a tree, house, or any thing else had ever stood there.†

Another account takes notice that the road from Spanish town to 16 mile walk lies along the river ; and that the two mountains about midway, which were almost perpendicular, especially on the other side of the stream, where by the violent shake of the earthquake joined together, which stopt the passage of the river, and forced it to seek another channel, a great way in and out amongst the woods and Savana's. The same writer adds, that the mountains at Yellows fared no better than those of 16 mile walk : That a great part of one of them falling down, drove all the trees before it : That at the foot of the mountain, a plantation was wholly overthrown and buried in it ; and that the mountains in Liguania fell in several places, and in some very steep §

The following relation will give the reader an idea of the terrible and sudden manner in which houses and people were swallowed up. The writer was a sufferer himself. He lost all his people and goods, his wife and two men : Only one white maid escaped ; who informed him that her mistress was in her closet, two pair of stairs high : That being sent into the garret, where was Mrs. B. and her daughter, she there felt the earthquake : That upon this, she bid her, (Mrs. B.) take up her child and run down ; but turning about, met the water at the top of the garret stairs : For the house, adds he, sunk downright, and is now near thirty feet under water. This gentleman and his son went that morning to Liguania ; by which means they were saved. However the earthquake took them about midway, when they were near being overwhelmed by a swift-rolling sea six feet above

* Doubtless the 1000 acres abovementioned.
§ Phil. Trans. p. 88. Abridg. p. 413.
† Phil. Trans. p. 89. Abridg. p. 416.

above the surface, without any wind, which forced them back to Liguania. There he found all the houses even with the ground, except those of the negroes.*

According to Dr. Morley it was thought that there were lost in all parts of the island 2000 people; and that had the shake happened in the night, very few would have escaped alive.†

But the mortality which ensued the great earthquake (for they had little ones daily), made greater havock than the earthquake itself. By an account dated the 23d of September following, almost half the people, who escaped at Port-Royal, were since dead of a malignant fever, from change of air, want of dry houses, warm lodgings, proper medicines, and other conveniences.‡ Dr. Morley observes that this sickness (supposed to proceed from the hurtful vapours belched from the many openings of the earth) spread all over Jamaica, and became so general, that few escaped it. It is thought it swept away in many parts of the island 3000 souls; most of them from Kingstown only.§

The same gentleman takes notice, that he had felt several lesser shakes, and heard the noise often; which is very loud, and, by those not used to hear it, may be easily taken for a ruffling wind, or hollow rumbling thunder: But he says it hath some puffing blasts peculiar to itself, most like those of a brimstone match when lighted; but in a much greater degree, and such as a large magazine of brimstone may be supposed to make when on fire. He adds, that in Port-Royal, and many places all over the island, much sulphureous combustible matter had been found, supposed to have been thrown out, upon the opening of the earth; which upon the first torch of fire, would flame and burn like a candle.‖

We shall conclude the whole with remarks on the weather, both before and after the earthquake. Dr. Morley observes, that the year 1692, began in Jamaica, with very dry and hot weather, which continued till May, when there was very blowing weather, and much rain till the end of the month. From that time till the earthquake happened, it was excessive hot, calm, and dry. We learn from another hand, that the weather was much hotter after the earthquake than before; and that there appeared such an innumerable quantity of musquetoes, as had never been seen in the island till then.¶

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* Phil. Trans. No. 209, p. 83. Abridg. p. 411.
† Abridg. p. 417.
‡ The same, p. 411.
§ The same, p. 419.
‖ The same, p. 418.
¶ The same, p. 413.

AN ACCOUNT OF SOME EFFECTS OF THE GREAT EARTHQUAKE, IN THE YEAR 1755, CONTAINED IN A NOTE ANNEXED TO "A SERMON DELIVERED JUNE 16, 1756, AT THE SECOND PARISH IN LANCASTER, (NOW STERLING), OCCASIONED BY THE GENERAL MUSTER, AND INSPECTION OF ARMS, ON THAT DAY. BY JOHN MELLEN, A. M. PASTOR OF THE CHURCH OF CHRIST THERE."

AT the north-east corner of the town of Holden, in a low, obscure place, there are several acres of land quite surrounded by a visible fracture in the earth, of a circular form, and of various width and depth.

A small rocky river is upon the north, and it is otherwise chiefly covered by a steep hill, set with thick wood. The breach upon the hilly sides is upon the declivity of the hill, and is a perpendicular sinking of the ground, in some places more than the height of a man, but without any present opening. The trees on each side of the breach, by this means, being thrown into various directions, and sometimes crossing one another, over head, at right angles, sometimes thrown out by the roots. Upon the less uneven land is now a rupture of different dimensions, not very deep or yawning, but sometimes dividing itself into two, and frequently emitting cracks to some distance from its main body; the ground being thereby very much broken into pieces, and some large masses entirely disjoined from the rest. Upon the river side, it is easy to see where the rupture was; but at present there is no opening, only a sand that seems to have been thrown out, and a great dislocation of the stones, of vast bigness, in the channel. The old channel is, indeed, in great measure blocked up, and seems to be raised something answerable to the sinking of the land at the hill, and causes a considerable fall of the water where, it is said, there used to be little or none; and this is not improbable from circumstances which seem to demonstrate that this whole body of earth, when torn from the hill, was pushed several feet towards the river. The stump of a tree, that happened to stand directly over the chasm, on the east, is divided into two equal parts, one standing upon the outside of the chasm, the other upon the inside, but not opposite to each other; the half within the chasm being carried five feet forward, towards the river. A large log also, that crosses the breach upon the same side, is dislodged from

from its ancient bed, at the end lying without the chasm, but retains its former situation within. The same thing is seen in the roots of a tree that is turned up in the chasm, upon the opposite side, to the west. Some trees, that stood upon the margin of the river, tumbled into it; and notwithstanding the large quantity of earth hanging to their roots, the place from which it was taken was not left void, but the earth behind has come forward and closed up the breach. The turf also, at the channel, is in some places doubled over, and crouded together.

I very lately saw this remarkable place, with a view at publishing the account of it here.* It has been seen by many people; and some of them, persons of some distinction. It seems probable that the eruption and swelling was greater at the river than in any other part; which may possibly account, in some measure, for the descent of the other land that way, which, in the general, lay a little higher; and this might help to continue the channel in its raised situation.

I observed upon a little hillock, not far from the centre of the circumference, a small quantity of fine sand, spread upon the leaves, which seemed to be spewed out of the earth; and a little spring, to appearance, of a strong mineral tincture, oozing through it, and falling down its sides.

Had only such a rupture as this happened in a place inhabited, and set with houses, the terrible effects of it are not hard to conceive. And it ought to be improved as an admonition to thankfulness, and readiness for such and like events.

Topographical Description of New-Bedford.

THIS township lies 58 miles south from Boston; and is bounded north, by Freetown and a small part of Rochester and Middleborough; east, by Rochester; west, by Dartmouth; and south by Buzzard's bay.

It is 13 miles in length, 4 in breadth, and was originally contained in the limits of old Dartmouth, which comprehended the towns now called Dartmouth, Westport, and New-Bedford.

The Indian name of New-Bedford is Acchusnutt. The river Acchusnutt runs north and south through this place, and divides the villages of Oxford and Fair-Haven, from Bedford

Bedford village, from which the present town took its name, as the most considerable of these three little compact settlements. The distance between Fair-Haven and Bedford villages is a mile; a ferry boat constantly passes; and from the number of other boats, and small vessels sailing in the river, there appears to be much commercial intercourse between the places. From the head to the mouth of the river, the distance is 7 or 8 miles. The harbour is very safe; in some places, 17 or 18 feet of water, and vessels of 300 or 400 tons lie at the wharves. A most beautiful basin is formed, of very considerable extent, to the points which make the entrance of the harbour; the neck on the west side of the river is called Clark's neck, the other side retains its aboriginal name, Sconticutt. An island, between these points of land, must needs cause the entrance to be very narrow. There are, also, several other islands in the river, most of them small, yet yielding some pasturage, and very commodious for several purposes, particularly for those who make a business of salting fish. There is good fishing in the river for the smaller kind; and not far distant from the mouth, they catch the larger sort. But few markets, in any of our seaports, are equally supplied with variety of fish, and such as are very excellent. Here are sold, cod, bass, black-fish, sheeps-head, &c. &c.

The trade of New-Bedford is likewise very considerable, and greatly upon the increase. The whale fishery employs a great number of hands, and the merchants engaged in this business are among the *opulent ones* of the commonwealth. The vessels sent to Faulkland islands, in the year 1774, were fitted out from this place, and owned almost entirely by the inhabitants. Had not the war, which commenced the next year, made a complete revolution of property, and altered every plan of business, they might have calculated, very reasonably, upon making immense profits from the voyage. No town has suffered more, perhaps, from the common chances of the war, and direct depredations of the enemy. Besides the fair prospects which were at once clouded, and soon cut off, the estimate of the property destroyed by the British troops, 1778, was

£. 11,241 real estate,
85,739 personal.

But with all their losses, the property and trade of the place are now very respectable ; it is recovering, fast, the flourishing circumstances of its former state. It is a port of entry and delivery, upon the federal establishment.

A post-office is kept open in the town, and several stages run weekly to Boston. There are several schools in New-Bedford ; as many as five or six in the several villages, These include such as teach children the rudiments of general reading, grammar, arithmetick, &c.

A weekly news-paper is published ; new streets are laid out ; new buildings continually erecting ; and more people, in proportion to the extent of the town, and greater evidence of increasing numbers, than any other town in the county of Bristol.

The number of houses in New-Bedford are	454
number of inhabitants	1313

The air of the place is salubrious, and there are instances of longevity. Mrs. *K.* died, a few years ago, 106. She came from Plymouth ; and descended from a family, all of whom were remarkable for their age when they died. Though we can mention none besides her above a hundred, several old people, now living, are beyond fourscore, and there is one ninety.

The soil is rough and hard, good for grazing, but not for tillage. Most of the towns upon these shores are rocky ; and among the rocks, is a small quantity of the lapis specularis, or *isinglass*, used instead of window glass in some few houses. In some parts, besides good grazing land for cattle, the ground produces considerable crops of grain ; and there remain few places of woods and swamps still uncultivated.

History.] The coast opposite the Elizabeth islands was discovered by B. Gosnold, in the month of May, 1602. While some of his men laboured in building a fort and store-house upon one of these islands, (Naushaun), he crossed the bay in his vessel, and discovered the mouths of two rivers ; one was that near which lay Hap's hill ; and the other, that on the shore of which the town of New-Bedford is now built.*

This part of it was not settled so soon as many other towns in the old colony of Plymouth, or the county of Bristol. When or by whom it was settled, we have not been able to learn ; but probably the first inhabitants were of the society called

* Vid. Dr. Belknap's Biography.

called Friends, who, to this day, are much more numerous than any other religious denomination in New-Bedford, and make a far greater majority in Westport and Dartmouth; in which places there is no house erected for publick worship, except Friends.

In New-Bedford, there are three houses for this denomination of christians, and as many (including one now building in Bedford village) of the congregational society. There was only one church, at the head of the river, till, a few years ago, the people of Fair-Haven erected a meeting-house, and the people on the other side of the river, this year, built another. The old church has had several ministers. The first was Mr. Samuel Hunt, who died about the year 1735. The present generation know but little concerning him, only that he was settled at the beginning of the present century, and was educated at Harvard college, where he graduated in 1700.

Mr. Richard Pierce, their next minister, graduated in 1724, at the same university, was settled in 1737. He was obliged to leave the profession, after a certain number of years, on account of bodily infirmities, and was succeeded by Mr. Cheever, who took his degree at Cambridge in 1749, and in 1759 was dismissed from this people. He is now minister of Liverpool, Nova-Scotia. The Rev. Samuel West, D. D. now pastor of this church, whose literary character is among the most eminent of the profession, was settled in 1761. The people of Fair-Haven were made a distinct parish in 1792; and the year succeeding, Mr. Isaiah Weston was ordained their pastor. The people of Bedford village choose to remain connected with the church at the head of the river, and the pastor is to preach alternately at the village.

At this village, there is one Friends meeting-house. There is another at the head of the river, and a third at the northward boundary of the town. The last are not acknowledged by the other Friends of New-England, but are styled Separatists. At the southward, there are several societies who think and act with them. During the war, they wrote and agreed upon the propriety of paying indirect taxes: and, in other respects, are less particular and austere than the larger body of this people.

The present town of New-Bedford was incorporated by this name so lately as the year 1787. It

It is somewhat remarkable that in so few years from the settlement of the villages on the banks of the river, they reached nearly their present state of respectability and opulence among the trading towns. Fair-Haven and Bedford were settled about the same time, 1764. They increased rapidly until the war; and then declined for a number of years, from the adverse circumstances of their local situation, which by other alteration of the times, is now peculiarly advantageous. The first house in the village of Bedford was built by Mr. John Louden, of Pembroke. Mr. J. Willis, a respectable inhabitant of the town, now living, drew the deed of the land where his house is built. Fair-Haven, on the east side, took its name from the pleasantness of the situation. Bedford was so called from a whimsical circumstance. The land was owned on the west side of the river, by a Mr. Russell. This being the family name of the Duke of Bedford, Mr. J. Rotch, one of the principal purchasers and first settlers, declared that the place where they built should go by the name of Bedford. It was so called until the several villages, with the part of Dartmouth to the east of Acchusnutt river, were united in one town, and called *New* Bedford, on account of another town's bearing the name within the limits of the commonwealth.

Before the settlement made by the Rotch family, and the merchants who were connected with them in the whaling business, there was not a house in *Bedford village*, as it is called, to distinguish it from the other villages, where we may reckon, at this time, a hundred houses, and a large proportion of the inhabitants of the town.

During the war, there was a great concourse of strangers to the place. It was thought a safe and convenient port to fit out privateers, or to receive the abundance which flowed into these New-England states from that eccentrick mode of doing business.

While the town was in this flourishing state, "The British troops, to the amount of 4000, landed on the west side of Clark's neck, and at Clark's cove, on Saturday evening the 5th of September, 1778; and marched round to the head of the river, over the bridge, and down the east side, into Sconticutt neck; leaving the villages of Fair-Haven and Oxford on the right; burning, on their way, houses, mills, barns, &c. They encamped on Sconticutt neck until Monday,

Monday, and then re-embarked on board their shipping. The succeeding night they attempted to land a large number of troops at Fair-Haven, in order to burn that village; but being discovered by major Israel Fearing, (now brigadier general), who had the command of about 100 or 150 men, and determined to save the place if possible; or lose his life in the attempt; and placed himself and men behind houses and stores, near where he supposed they would land; and suffered them to reach the shore with their boats, before a musket was discharged, and they were there in great numbers, beginning to land; and had set fire to two or three stores within 50 or 100 yards of major Fearing and his men; who then fired upon them; and by the screechings, and tracks of blood, afterwards discovered, supposed many were killed and wounded. They immediately retreated aboard their ships, taking their dead and wounded with them. Thus, by the bravery of one man, that village was preserved."*

This account of the burning of Bedford village differs from some other publications, in which the writers, not having the same information, have committed several mistakes. In the history of the reign of George 3d, by Belsham, he mentions that general Grey, an officer who had repeatedly distinguished himself by his military skill and courage, was detached, in the month of September, from New York to a place called Fair-Haven, on the coast of New England, where he destroyed about seventy sail of shipping, together with stores, magazines, wharves, &c. and proceeding to Martha's Vineyard, a beautiful island in the vicinity, he carried off an immense booty in oxen, sheep, &c.

The American historians have also mentioned the destruction of Bedford, and compute the loss of property about 20,000 £. sterling, real estate, besides the personal, which they pretend not to calculate. This was the general statement of the matter in the news-papers.

The very particular account of this expedition, given to the Historical Society, must be accurate. The information was from a very respectable gentleman, who was an eye-witness to the scene, one of the sufferers, and a few hours that night a prisoner among the British, from whom he made his escape before morning.

THE

* Manuscript letter of Edward Pope, esq. to Rev. John Eliot, Boston.

The Discovery and Description of the Islands called the Marquesas, in the South Pacific Ocean. With a farther Account of the seven adjacent Islands, discovered first by Capt. Joseph Ingraham, and since by Capt. Josiah Roberts. Compiled from Dalrymple's Collection of Discoveries; Cooke's second Voyage, and the Journals and Log-Book of the Ship Jefferson, of Boston.

THE islands called the *Marquesas*, were first known to the Europeans by a discovery made in 1595, by Alvaro de Mendana de Neyra, a Spanish governour in South-America, who sailed from Callao, with a view to make a settlement in some islands called Solomon's, which are supposed to be the same with the land of Papua, or New Guinea. He had four ships and four hundred people under his command, and his chief pilot was Pedro Fernandez de Quiros; to whom we are chiefly indebted for an account of this voyage; in a letter written by him to Don Antonio Morga, who was lieutenant-general of the Phillipines at the time when Quiros arrived at Manilla; and afterwards president of the royal audience of Quito. The letter was first published at Mexico in 1609.

Mendana sailed from Callao on the 9th of April, 1595, and touched at Paita, in lat. 5° S. where he took his colony on board, and from whence he steered W. S. W. toward the islands which he intended to visit. On the 21st of July, he discovered an island in the 10th degree of south latitude, to which he gave the name of *La Magdalena*. It is described as having high and steep cliffs to the sea, mountainous inland, with fertile vallies. It appeared to be very populous; for as ships passed on its southern side, the cliffs and beach were full of people, and above four hundred of them came off, some in canoes, and others swimming or floating on rafts, to visit the ships. The island was supposed to be about six leagues in circuit, and had a harbour under a mountain, on its south side.

Besides this, three other islands were discovered; the first they named *St. Pedro*; it lay about ten leagues N. by W. from Magdalena, and was supposed to be three leagues in circuit. It had much wood, was level, and not very high; they did not go near enough to see whether it were inhabited.

About

About five leagues N. W. from Pedro, was another island, which they named *La Dominica*. It appeared very pleasant, with fine plains and rising grounds, covered with wood. It was judged to be fifteen leagues in circuit, and was very populous.

To the south of Dominica, a little more than a league, was another island, to which they gave the name of *St. Christina*. It was high in the middle, with fine vallies. The island appeared to be about eight leagues in circuit, and full of people. The channel between it and Dominica was clear, with soundings.

The whole group was called Las Marquesas de Mendoça, in memory of the Marquis of Cannete, then viceroy of Peru.

On the 28th of July, the squadron anchored in a port on the west side of Christina, which they called *Port Madre de Dios*, where they found good water, and were supplied by the inhabitants with hogs, fowls, sugar-cane, plantanes, cocoa-nuts, and bread-fruit. There they staid till the 5th of August, when they sailed W. by S. on their intended voyage; which proved very unfortunate; for after discovering two or three islands, on one* of which they intended a settlement, they fell into a quarrel with the natives, and with each other. Mendana, with many of his people, were killed, and Quiros conducted the remnant to Manilla.

The four islands, called the Marquesas, were taken possession of in the name of the king of Spain; and Quiros, in his letter to Morga, was very desirous that the discovery should be concealed, lest the English, with whom the Spaniards were then at war, should get the knowledge of them. The secret was kept till the reign of James I. when the passion for discovery and conquest was repressed by a peace between the two nations.

In 1774, these islands were visited by Capt. Cook, who was then employed by the British government, in making discoveries in the southern hemisphere, with a view to determine the question respecting the existence of a southern continent. After leaving Easter island (lat. 27° 5′ S. and long. 109° 46′ W.) he steered N. W by N. and N. N. W. intending to touch at the Marquesas, in order to settle their situation, which was laid down differently in different charts.

Being

* This is supposed to be the same which Capt. Carteret discovered, and named *Egmont*. The Spaniards called it *Santa Cruz*. It lies in lat. 19° 20′ S. long. 164° 30′ E. from Greenwich.

Being in the latitude of 9° 24′ S. he altered his course to W. and on the 6th of April discovered an island, which proved to be one of the group of the Marquesas; but which had not been seen by Mendana. To this he gave the name of *Hood's island*. It is situated in the latitude of 9° 26′ S. and bears N. by W. from the east point of Dominica, distant between five and six leagues. After this, he saw the other four islands which he thus describes.

"*Dominica* is the largest of all these islands, extending E. and W. six leagues. It is of unequal breadth, and is about fifteen or sixteen leagues in circuit. It is full of rugged hills, rising in ridges directly from the sea; these ridges are disjoined by deep vallies, which are clothed with wood, as are the sides of some of the hills; the aspect is barren, but it is inhabited. Its latitude is 9° 44′ S. We ranged the S. E. coast of Dominica, without seeing the least signs of anchorage, till we came to the channel which separates it from Christina, through which we passed. *St. Pedro* is about three leagues in circuit, and of a good height. It lies S. four leagues and a half from the E. end of Dominica; we know not if it be inhabited; nature has not been very bountiful to it. *St. Christina* lies under the same parallel, three or four leagues more to the W. It stretches N. and S. and is three leagues long, in that direction, and about seven leagues in circuit. A narrow ridge of hills, of considerable height, extends the whole length of the island Other ridges, rising from the sea, with an equal ascent, join the main ridge. These are separated by deep, narrow vallies, very fertile, adorned with fruit and forest trees, and watered by many fine streams. *La Magdalena* we saw only at a distance. Its situation must be nearly in the latitude of 10° 25′, longitude 138° 50′. These isles occupy one degree in latitude, and near half a degree in longitude, viz. from 138° 47′ to 139° 13′ W. which is the longitude of the W. end of Dominica."

From the observations of Dr. Forster, who sailed with Capt. Cook in this voyage, we learn the names by which three of these islands are called by the natives. Dominica is *Heevaroa;* Christina is *Waitahù*, and Pedro is *Onateyo*.

"The port of Madre de Dios (which Capt. Cook called *Resolution-bay*, after the name of his ship) is situated near the middle of the W. side of Christina, and under the highest land

land in the island. Its latitude is 9° 55′ 30″ S. Its longitude, 139° 8′ 40″ W. and the W. end of Dominica bears N. 15° W. The south point of the bay is a steep rock, terminating in a peaked hill, above which is a path, leading up a narrow ridge, to the summits of the hills. The north point is not so high, and rises with a more gentle slope. They are a mile apart, in the direction of N. by E. and S. by W. The bay is nearly three quarters of a mile deep, and has from thirty-four to twelve fathoms of water, with a clean, sandy bottom. In the bay are two sandy coves, divided from each other, by a rocky point. In each is a rivulet of excellent water. The northern cove is the most commodious for wooding and watering. Here is the little water-fall mentioned by Quiros, Mendana's pilot, but the village is in the other cove. There are several other bays on this side of the island, and some of them, especially to the northward, may be mistaken for this; therefore the best direction for finding it, is the bearing of the W. end of Dominica."

"The inhabitants of these islands, collectively, are, without exception, the finest race of people in these seas. For good shapes and regular features they perhaps, surpass all nations. Nevertheless, the affinity of their language to that spoken in Otaheité, and the Society islands, proves that they are of the same origin."

"The trees, plants, and other productions of these islands, are nearly the same as at Otaheité and the Society islands. The refreshments to be got, are hogs, fowls, plantanes, yams, and some other roots; likewise bread-fruit and cocoa-nuts, but of these not many."

Capt. Cook remained in this port from the 8th to the 12th of April, and then pursued the voyage to the S. S. W. for Otaheité.

In 1791, Capt. Joseph Ingraham, in the brigantine Hope, of and from Boston, bound to the N. W. coast of America, touched at Resolution-bay; and in his passage from thence to the N. N. W. made a new discovery of *seven* other islands, belonging to this cluster; an account of which was published in the Collections of the Historical Society for the year 1793, page 20, &c. to which the reader is referred.

Before Ingraham's discovery was known, Capt. Josiah Roberts sailed from Boston on a voyage to the N. W. coast,

in the ship Jefferson. This ship carried the frame and rigging of a schooner, which was set up and launched at Resolution-bay, in the island of Christina; where Capt. Roberts lay from Nov. 11, 1792, to Feb. 24, 1793; a much longer time than any European or American vessel had lain in that or any other port of the Marquesas, since the first discovery of those islands.

During that time, the ship's company became intimately acquainted with the natives; and in conversation with them, the captain inquired how many islands they knew to be in their neighbourhood; they answered by describing *ten*. In a day or two afterward, an elderly man came to the tent on shore, who was introduced by the natives as an inhabitant of the island of *Nooheeva*, which they represented as the largest island of the ten, and the most productive; abounding with hogs of a larger size, and other provisions in great plenty. They said that the island might be seen in a clear day from the tops of their mountains, and was about one day's sail from thence.

On the 5th of February, the horizon being very clear, they saw, from the ship's deck, as she lay in Resolution-bay, high land, bearing N. W. by W. being one of the beforementioned islands, which the natives call *Wooapo;* they told them that more of these islands could be seen from the mountains.

From the time of his first introduction, the old man continued with them, determined to take his passage to his native island, which they intended to visit. His name was *Tooe-no-haa;* he appeared to be between sixty and seventy years of age, was very robust, entirely free and unreserved, and had been absent from his own island, as well as they could learn, about ten years.

All the natives seemed to agree in respect to the number of these islands and their situation; and that they abounded with hogs, fowls, and all sorts of fruits, which are found on any of the islands. The hope of making a new discovery, and of obtaining a full supply of refreshments, induced Capt. Roberts and his officers to make the strictest inquiry into these matters.

On the 24th of February, 1793, at three o'clock, P. M. Capt. Roberts, in the ship Jefferson, in company with the schooner Resolution (named after the bay) came to sail, steering

steering N. W. by W. for the island of *Wooapo;* which they discovered the next morning at 4 o'clock. At 3, P. M. they saw the island of *Nooheeva*, which is reckoned the parent of all these islands. At 4, P. M. they came within sight of another island, called *Ooahoona*, which is said to be the northernmost of all this cluster. About 5, P. M. they sailed through a passage between Wooapo and a small island which lay to the southward of it, about a mile distant.

Two or three canoes, which came from Wooapo, brought a few cocoa-nuts and fish; but finding no prospect of supplies, the next day they bore away for Nooheeva. Wooapo appeared to be a smaller island than Christina; it has several heights, and the highest land is toward its southern extremity. By their observation, on the 26th of February, the body of the island was found to lie in lat. 9° 27′ S. It bears N. W. by W. distant about 20 leagues from Resolution-bay. It is the same island to which Ingraham gave the name of *Adams;* and the small island southward of it he called *Lincoln.* Roberts gave to them the names of his ship and schooner; the larger *Jefferson;* and the lesser, *Resolution.*

On the same day, at 5, P. M. they saw an island, which Tooe-no-haa called *Fatoo-e-tee*, and said was not inhabited. It abounds with turtle and birds, and the natives of the other islands resort thither, at certain seasons, in quest of them. This is the island which Ingraham called *Franklin*, and which, from its rocky appearance, he supposed to be volcanic. Roberts gave it the name of *Blake*, one of the owners of his ship. It lies W. by N. from Nooheva, at the distance of about seven or eight leagues.

At 5, P. M. they got up with the S. W. part of the island of Nooheeva. The night was calm, and the next day, (Feb. 27), with a light breeze, they stood to the northward. Tooe-no-haa informed them, that the place for anchorage was round the point, which then formed the northern extremity of the land; the shore along the S. W. side of the island appeared to be rocky, or, in the seaman's phrase, "iron-bound." The natives on the shore were highly entertained with the sight of the vessels. A canoe came off with some fish, plantane, and taro-roots, which were purchased with a few nails. They expressed great admiration at the ship, and particularly her iron work.

The next morning, (Feb. 28), at 7 o'clock, the first officer,

ficer, Bernard Magee, went in the pinnace, with six hands and Tooe-no-haa, in search of an anchoring place, and to purchase hogs or other provisions; at the same time that the ship stood off and on, the west side of the island. About 10, A. M. they landed in a small bay, and several natives, of both sexes, came to see them; they were highly delighted with the boat, but much more so with the looking glasses which were shown them. They examined the fire-arms with great attention; but had no idea of their effect, till, at the request of Tooe-no-haa, one of them was discharged; at the report, they all fell into the water; and when they came up, held their hands to their heads, and exclaimed as if they had been wounded. The old man laughed heartily, and told them, that their new visitors were friends, and would not hurt them if they behaved well; but that if they should attempt to steal any thing, they would certainly be killed. When Magee inquired for hogs, they pointed inland, and to the N. part of the island, where, they said, these animals were to be had in plenty.

He then went out of the bay, and attempted to coast the N. part of the island, where, the old man and the other natives assured him, there was good anchorage; but a strong N. E. wind prevented him from going so far as to determine whether there was so large a bay as had been described. The natives came down to a small bay abreast of the pinnace, and invited them on shore; but there was no possibility of landing. They had only a few cocoa-nuts and calabashes; from which it was concluded that they came from inland to the sea shore a fishing. There was no appearance of huts along the coasts; but the land had every sign of fertility.

As there was no possibility of landing here, or of proceeding against the wind to the northward, the pinnace put back to the bay where they had been in the morning. Their former visitors came again to them, and brought fish, which they had baked, rolled up in leaves, for which they received some pieces of iron hoops. Their stay here was but short, as there was another bay to be examined, which lay southward, about one mile. Here they found a few natives, but saw no huts. On landing, the greater part disappeared; and those who remained seemed very indifferent to the articles shown them, such as nails, knives, glasses, and pieces of

of iron. They all said that at the N. side of the island, and inland, there was a plenty of hogs. At this place the old man, Tooe-no-haa, took his leave of them, with much regret and many tears. Before he left the ship, he had been presented with a blanket, a hat, a hatchet, a knife, and a looking glass, with which he was much pleased. This bay is about a half a mile in the extremes of the two points which form it, and about the same depth into the beach; there is a regular decrease of soundings, from eighteen fathoms to the shore, and a fine sandy bottom.

About 4, P. M. Mr. Magee put off for the ship, and at 7 got along side. As it would require considerable time to be among these people before any effectual supplies could be obtained, and the season was fast advancing, it was thought best to give up any farther trial for supplies, and sail for the Sandwich Islands, where they knew that provisions were to be had in plenty and variety.

To the island of Nooheeva, Capt. Roberts gave the name of *Adams;* it is the same which Ingraham had called *Federal* island. The latitude of the body of the island is 8° 58′ S. and it lies nearly on the same meridian with Wooapo, between 140° and 140° 10′ W. from Greenwich. Capt. Ingraham has placed them about 40′ more to the westward; but the difference of latitude between his observation and Roberts's is not material. They all lie in such a situation, and so much within sight of each other, that no voyager can mistake one for the other.

Ooahoona lies about ten leagues N. E. from Nooheeva. To this island Roberts gave the name of *Massachusetts.* Ingraham had before called it *Washington.* This name was given by Roberts to the whole group of the new islands, of which he then supposed himself to be the first discoverer. To avoid confusion, however, it may be most eligible to call each island by its proper name in the language of the inhabitants.

A few days before Capt. Roberts sailed from Resolution-bay, it was discovered, that the island *Waitahù*, or *Christina*, produced cotton, superior in fineness to any which they had seen. The natives said that it grew in great plenty on all the islands; a specimen of it is brought home, and deposited in the museum of the Historical Society.

The natives of these islands attend to no kind of cultivation.

tion. They live entirely by what nature produces, bread-fruit, plantanes, cocoa-nuts, and yams. The three former they have in great perfection; the last was not seen in plenty. They have a fruit something resembling a peach, which they call *kaieeka*. They have hogs in all the islands, and a few fowls were seen at Resolution-bay, but the price of a fowl was equal to that of a hog.

When the natives go to any distance from home, they carry their bread fruit, either baked or raw, in calabashes. They eat it with the oil of the cocoa-nut, which they call *powy*. They are very expert at fishing, which adds greatly to their support; they sometimes eat the fish raw, and are very fond of the head and eyes.

There is every reason to suppose them cannibals. The inhabitants of Resolution-bay would not own it of themselves; but freely declared that the other islanders, and the inland people of their own island, devour human flesh.

On the 2d of March, both vessels made sail to the N. N. W. Tooe-no-haa had told them that they would see more land in that direction. Accordingly, the next morning, March 3d, they discovered the two islands to which Ingraham had given the names of *Knox* and *Hancock;* but which they called *Freeman* and *Langdon*. These islands had every appearance of fertility. Their latitude is from 8° 3′ to 8° 5′ S. and their longitude very nearly 141° W.

It is much to be regretted, that Capt. Roberts could not spare time to make a full exploration of the northern part of the island Nooheeva, as all the accounts of the natives concurred in representing it populous and fruitful, and to have good anchorage in a large bay. As these islands lie in that part of the Pacific ocean through which vessels from Europe or America, bound to the N. W. coast must pass, and are not far out of their usual tract, they may be visited for refreshment in case of need. It is probable that we shall have a correct chart of them when Capt. Vancoover, who is now, by order of the British government, making a survey of the coasts and islands in the Pacific ocean, shall return to England, and publish his long desired observations.

The above minutes are agreeable to my observations.

JOSIAH ROBERTS.

And to mine.

BERNARD MAGEE.

Boston, Nov. 6, 1795.

Observations on the Islands of Juan Fernandez, Massafuero, and St. Ambrose, in the South Pacific Ocean, and the Coast of Chili, in South-America. Extracted from the Journal of Mr. Bernard Magee, first Officer of the Ship Jefferson, in her late Voyage round the Globe.

"May 6, 1792. AT noon we observed the latitude to be the same that the latest publication of the English authors places the island of Juan Fernandez in, which is 32° 3′ south; our longitude then, by account, was 85° 18′ W. of Greenwich, which we supposed to be 6° or 7° to the eastward of the island. However, as all the authors we had on board differed much in regard to its situation, we thought it most prudent to keep well to the westward, as we expected to meet the wind strong from that quarter, and to run in the parallel of the island; but in that we were disappointed, as the wind, from the 6th to the 11th, was light and baffling, mostly from the southward and eastward. We kept as near the aforementioned latitude as the winds would admit, when, on the 11th and 12th, we had a good opportunity of determining our longitude by several good sights of the sun and moon, the mean of which gave the longitude 79° 30′ W. the latitude 31° 45′ south.

The 13th, had several more good sights, which I most depend on, on account of the atmosphere being very clear, and the sea exceeding smooth. Made the long. 80° 53′ W. the latitude at noon 31° 50′ south.

The wind still continuing to the S. E. and N. E. rendered our situation very disagreeable, as we were doubtful of making the island on account of the contrary winds, and the uncertain situation of it.

From the 13th to the 24th, the wind continuing as above, with dark, cloudy weather, we began to give up all hopes of making the island; but to make the best of our way to the main continent, either to Valparaiso or Cacumbo, to get water, and some other necessary supplies, our fresh stock being near expended, and water getting short; yet our ship's company were in exceeding good health, and clear of any symptoms of the scurvy; but to our great satisfaction, on the morning of the 24th, we very unexpectedly saw the long-looked-for island

island of Massafuero, bearing S E. by S. 15 or 18 leagues distant. This lucky land fall was owing to baffling head winds, which prevented us from making the best of our way to the continent. If the winds had favoured our wishes, we should not have made any of the islands, as we should have run in the latitude of 32° 2′ S. as far as the longitude of 76° W. and certainly would have missed the islands, as they were very erroneously laid down. However, we had a good opportunity of ascertaining their true situation, both in regard to latitude and longitude. The noon of the 24th our meridian observation was 32° 40′. The island of Massafuero then bore S. by E. half east; and from the appearance of the land, which is reckoned very high, I suppose it was 15 or 18 leagues distant from us; the bearing, with the variation of the compass 13° 29′ east, places the body of the island in 33° 30′ south, as near as we could estimate the distance from our situation. This island is reckoned, by some accounts, to lie 20 leagues to the westward of Juan Fernandez, but we found it to be very erroneous. We made their distance a-part, by a well-kept log, and a favourable gale, 38 leagues, which is 18 leagues more than the best account we had of them.

On the 26th, we made the island of Juan Fernandez, being thick, blowing weather, which prevented us, for some days, from attempting for the harbour, which is Cumberland bay, on the north side of the island. We had a good opportunity for determining the situation of this island, by several good sights of the sun and moon, when the atmosphere was very clear, and the sea exceeding smooth; the longitude of which we made 79° 50′ west of Greenwich, latitude 33° 32′ south, and the island Massafuero nearly in a parallel with it; our run between the two islands places the latter in the longitude 82° W. This account may be depended upon to be the true situation of these islands, which was very erroneously laid down in all our books and charts. The morning of the 29th, being then off Cumberland bay, and the wind blowing in squalls off the land, the weather cloudy, at 10 o'clock a heavy squall struck us, (being then under single reefed topsails), which, notwithstanding all our exertion in taking in sail, yet laid the ship over to near her beam ends.

On the 30th, toward the evening, sprung up a fine breeze from the westward, which continued all the night and the

next

next day. At day-light in the morning, got every thing in readiness for going into the harbour, which then bore S. by E. of us, about three miles distant. Got out the pinnace, and sent her ahead of us, into the harbour, with Mr. Kendrick, the third officer, and six hands, he having a knowledge of the best anchoring ground, having been in the port before, with his father, in the ship Columbia, in the year 1788, and met with a friendly reception. But to our disappointment, we soon found that government had taken a different turn. No sooner had the pinnace got on the anchoring ground, than a shore boat came off, sent by the governor, to order her on shore, which Mr. Kendrick complied with, and waited on the governor. When we saw the pinnace taken on shore, we immediately tacked, and stood out of the harbour, until they should return. At 11 o'clock the pinnace returned, and Mr. Kendrick informed us, that the governor would not permit us to anchor in the harbour; that there was an act of government, passed since the ship Columbia was there, that no foreigners should be allowed to anchor in the road; however, he sent his compliments to Capt. Roberts, and informed him that he might send his boat on shore for water, or any other thing that he could supply him with. The captain immediately went on shore, to wait on the governor, took along with him a few water casks, his sea-letter, and the Spanish ambassador's letter of friendship between the United States and his most Catholick majesty, in hopes it would gain us permission to go into the road. At two of the clock, the captain returned, with about 160 gallons of water, a number of fine cod fish, some pumpkins, a quantity of fine radishes, and about a bushel of small potatoes, of an inferior sort.

As the governor would not permit us to come into the harbour, and finding it impossible to get a sufficient supply of water by means of our boats, on account of the boisterous wind we found to prevail; the governor gave the captain a letter to the governor of *Valparaiso*, in the province of Chili, recommending to him to furnish us with every necessary supply. We sent the pinnace the third time, to the shore, for a bullock that the governor ordered to be killed for us, which, at that time, was very acceptable, and sent him in return a few bottles of gin and brandy, two large hams, and a cheese. At 5 o'clock, the pinnace returned with the meat,

some more cod fish and vegetables, hoisted her in, and made sail; stood on our course, with a fresh gale, for *Valparaiso* on the main continent. About 7° 30′ E. of the above island, and in the latitude 33° 3′ south, we observed the variation of the magnetic needle, between Massafuero and the island Juan Fernandez, to be from 13° E. to 14°; and found it the same from thence to the continent. We likewise found it to have a regular decrease from the westernmost part of Terra del Fuego, in our way, as far as the longitude of 86° west, and the latitude 32° south.

The first and second of June, the weather continued thick and cloudy, with much rain; passed by several bunches of kelp, a sea lion, and a number of seals. The night of the second, we ran under an easy sail, sounding every four hours, but no bottom. This we did on account of the different accounts we had of the distance of the above island from the continent, which we found to be all erroneous. Lord *Anson's* account came the nearest of any we have had, which is 110 leagues.

Our meridian distance, at noon, was 308 miles, the latitude 33° 15′, and the longitude, by account, 73° 42′ west. A pleasant gale still continuing during the third day, passed by a number of seals, which these seas abound with. At 5 o'clock, in the evening, rounded to, and sounded; no ground with 120 fathom line. At midnight, sounded again; no bottom; went under short sail all the night, with a light breeze from the southward. At 6 o'clock, made all sail, and at 8, A. M. saw the land from E. by S. to E. N. E. At noon, the extremes of it bore from S. E. by E. to N. E. by N. 5 or 6 leagues distant; our latitude then, by meridian observation, 33°; longitude, by account, 72° 14′ W. and meridian distance from Juan Fernandez, 382 miles, which, with the bearings of the land, places the island 390 miles west of the continent. This I take to be very near the true distance, as we had a fair wind all the way from the island, until we made the land, and paid particular attention to the log, being desirous of ascertaining their true distance apart; and all the accounts we had, differed much in regard to it. As our latitude at noon, as above, was 33° S. agreeing within two miles of the latitude that the nautical directory places *Valparaiso* in, which is 33° 2′ S. and the land about 5 leagues distant from us, we hoisted a signal at the foretopmast head for

for a pilot ; but fearful of not getting any before night, and considering the probability of its not being customary, we thought most proper to prepare the pinnace, and proceed to a point of land, bearing E. of us, which we supposed the most likely for the harbour of *Valparaiso*. Accordingly, at 1 o'clock, which was the 4th of June, by log, we hoisted out the pinnace ; I went in her myself, and 6 hands, with the captain's orders to obtain a pilot, if possible, and the governor's permission to come into the harbour ; that if I could not get a pilot, I should sound, and examine the harbour, so as to form a sufficient knowledge of conducting the ship, in safety. I left the ship about half after one o'clock, with a fresh breeze from the southward, and considerable of a sea running.

At 4 o'clock, opened the harbour and fortification of Valparaiso, which was then about 5 leagues from the ship. When I got well into the harbour, so as to open the village, I saw two ships lying there ; I immediately hoisted a flag, to show of what nation we were. I then soon saw two boats coming off from the shore, to meet me, being custom-house boats ; they soon got me in custody. The commandant of the port was on board one of them, who ordered me into his boat, to conduct me to the governor. I no sooner was landed, than a guard of soldiers took me in charge ; and at a moderate calculation, there were not less than 500 spectators. The governor closely examined me, in regard to what we wanted, and the nature of our voyage, to which my answer was, that we were fitted out from Boston, in New-England, under the authority of the United States, and were bound to the N. W. coast (to try the possibility of a passage, so long looked for in vain, for the good of all civilized nations) ; that the cause of out putting in here, was the necessity of water, and other refreshments, of which we stood greatly in need.

After many questions, he desired I would bring the ship into the harbour ; and sent an Irishman along with me, by whose means I made known to the governor the nature of my business. About sun-set, I went on board of my boat, to go off to the ship, went out of the harbour about three miles, saw the ship to windward, about four leagues distant ; found it impossible to get up with her that night, the weather having a very unsettled appearance. I thought it most prudent

dent to put back into the harbour, and wait for the next morning; and when landed, was conducted to the governor's as before. I spent the evening there with the governor, and a number of gentlemen from St. Jago, the capital of *Chili*. They were very inquisitive during the course of the evening, in regard to the voyage, and the affairs of the United States. At 11 o'clock, the governor ordered supper for me, as I was to remain at the custom-house during the night, with my boat's crew and guard, to be prepared for going off to the ship at day-light; but he did not sup himself before two o'clock, being their custom. Supper was laid in the best manner, and consisted of a great variety of dishes, and a good desert after it, grapes, apples of the best kind, and a variety of sweetmeats. After supper, I was conducted to the custom-house, to wait for the morning. At day-light, went on board of my boat, with the Irishman along with me, to afford us his assistance in getting the ship into the harbour. When I got out of the bay, I saw the ship to windward, bearing S. W. about three leagues distant. I hoisted the signal given me for coming into the harbour, when they immediately bore down for us, and at 8 o'clock, A. M. got on board, stood into the harbour, with light, baffling airs, got the boat ahead, and towed the ship into the harbour. When within three hundred fathoms of the mooring ground, the wind took us off the land, which obliged us to drop the anchor in thirty fathoms water, and run a warp to the Spanish ships; by which means we hauled to the proper mooring ground.

We here anchored for the first time since we sailed from Boston, being then six months and sixteen days out, during which time we had a boisterous, disagreeable passage.

At noon, the commandant of the port came on board, to direct the mooring of the ship, and the governor sent his compliments to the captain, that he should wait on him at three o'clock, which he accordingly did. Hauled the ship into the mooring ground, dropped the best bower in fifteen fathom water, and got the small bower cable fast to an anchor on shore, and hove tight on both, being the securest way of mooring in this harbour, the starboard cables out to the northward, and the larboard cables run on shore fast to anchors or piles there. It is necessary to have the best cables and anchors out to the northward, on account of the northerly

northerly winds, which sometimes blow very heavy, and heave in a heavy swell, the road being open to the northward.

When the governor came on board, he closely examined the captain in regard to the nature of his voyage; he likewise requested the liberty of examining his charts, which was complied with. The captain then gave him to understand, that he should be under the necessity of applying to government for the supplies he then stood in need of; but the governor's answer was, that he had it not in his power to afford us any supplies without consulting the captain-general at St. Jago, nor could he suffer any of us to go on shore. After the governor had examined Meares's and Portlock's draughts, he requested the loan of them, to send to the captain-general, and desired the captain to write to him, and state the necessity that he was under, in regard to the supplies that he was in need of. The captain-general being an Irishman, was of course acquainted with the English language, which enabled us to make known, in a proper light, the nature of our cause. Accordingly, the next day, being the 5th, the captain wrote in regard to the supplies that he was in need of, that he would give bills to the amount on the Spanish ambassador at Philadelphia.

From the 5th to the 21st, we waited with impatience for an answer from Sir Ambrose Higgins, the vice-roy, and the draughts which the governor requested to have sent him, which were Meares's and Portlock's. In the mean time, we were industriously employed in overhauling and getting our ship ready for sea, and taking our stock of water on board, which amounted to six thousand gallons.

The morning of the 21st, the governor came on board, being his third visit since our arrival; he brought with him an answer to our letter, with all the books and charts, among which were the sea letter from General Washington. The vice-roy expressed in his letter the great satisfaction he had, in seeing "*his immortal name stamped with his own hand*," for the first time. The letter we received was equal to our wishes, the copy of which follows.

SIR,

I received your agreeable favour, dated at Valparaiso, the 4th instant, wherein you are pleased to communicate your safe arrival, at that port, in the ship Jefferson, after a long

long voyage from Boston, in New-England, in so distressed a situation, that you found yourself under the indispensable necessity, for want of provisions, wood and water, as the said governor advises in his official letters, that he could not excuse admitting you to anchor; and I have desired him to assist you with all the necessaries you should require, in your present situation, so as to enable you to return to sea, resuming the course of your intended voyage, north of California; where, it seems, something considerable, as you express, may be added to general discoveries, and the better improvement of navigation. These, no doubt, are laudable objects; and by what I see, (through the sincerity of your sentiments,) hope to see you enrolled among the order of illustrious circum-navigators of our time, especially if you are so conspicuously successful as to fall into the north-west passage, so often spoken of, searched for through the Atlantic and North Pacific Oceans. A late certain navigator, Mr. Meares, whose voyage you were so good as to send me, and I return the two volumes by the bearer, with this letter through the hands of Don Louis De Olava, governor of Valparaiso, has been so ingenuous as to say, that his system of discoveries on the N. W. coast, were directed more properly to a lucrative fur-trade; but he is, at the same time, a writer of much merit; and to say the truth, there are some pieces, in his observations on the probability of a north-west passage, that must revive the old notion of Mr. Dobb's, and will so subsist until the world is entirely undeceived by some demonstration; which, at least, must be the case, for it is hard to believe, that, excepting through Behring's straits, there be any direct communication, by water, from the North Pacific to Hudson's bay, or any other part of the Atlantic or North Seas. In a land officer, like me, it is high presumption to give my opinion so decisively; but should you be so happy as to convince the world to the contrary, I shall have the honour to congratulate you most heartily on so glorious an enterprize. You will also receive, from the governor, the credential letter given in behalf of your expedition, at Philadelphia, by his Catholic majesty's envoy, or charge des affaires, Don Joseph Ignacius De Viar, which I return. Also the passport of the United States of North America, authorised with the signature of his excellency General Washington, *whose immortal name I have had infinite satisfaction*

satisfaction to see stamped for the first time by his own hand ; a hand and arm so dexterously strong and fatal to the British empire, and no less beneficent to the happy country that gave him birth. I wish you a happy voyage, with my compliments to your second, Capt. Magee and command.

Gentlemen, your affectionate, humble servant,

AMBROSE HIGGINS.

St. Jago, De Chili,
15 *June*, 1792.

To Josiah Roberts, Esq. commander of the ship Jefferson,
Valparaiso.

The 24th, we got all our supplies on board, consisting of the following articles, viz. 30 bushels of potatoes, for one dollar per bushel ; 10 dozen fowls ; 2 fat bullocks, at 9 dollars each ; 8 large hogs ; 2000 onions, weighing, on an average, one pound and a half each ; a number of pumpkins, and cabbages, a quantity of lemmons, oranges, and nuts. The above articles this country abounds with, and produces them in the greatest perfection. The lands are fertile, and capable of as great improvement as any country on the globe ; they raise the best of wheat, and other grains, in great abundance. The next day was disagreeable weather ; but on the 26th, the weather having a settled appearance, at 4, P. M. unmoored ship, having all our business settled, and the governor's permission to put to sea ; hove out to the best bower, tripped it, the wind then got light and baffling, dropped it again, and run out a hauser to the Spanish ship in shore, until a breeze would favour us. During the night, the wind was light and baffling, though a fine clear moon and star light. At day-light, in the morning, sprung up a light breeze from the southward : Got under way, the wind continuing light ; got both boats ahead, and towed the ship out of the harbour. At 8 o'clock, A. M. the custom-house boat left us, with the officer and guard, who had been on board us since we came into port. When out clear of the harbour, we rounded to, to get our boats in. At noon, Valparaiso bore S. E. by S. 3 or 4 leagues distance, whose latitude we observed to be 32° 56′ S. long. 72° 19′ W. of Greenwich. Our stay in the above port was from the 4th to the 26th of June ; in which time, none of us had permission to go on shore,

shore, excepting the boat's crew, when filling our water, with a soldier along with them; and then they objected to an officer going in the boat. One day, the governor gave permission to land the forge, to get a palm to, and straighten the small bower anchor; which accordingly was landed on the beach, near the custom-house. The captain and second officer* being on shore, attending the work, were visited by a number of gentlemen and ladies in the course of the day, some of whom belonged to St. Jago, the capital of Chili. The gentlemen and ladies were very polite, and seemed to feel much for us in not having the liberty of recreating ourselves on shore; if we had, they should be happy to entertain us in their different families; but the restrictions of the Spanish government deprived us of these pleasing enjoyments, while in this port, which we stood greatly in need of, after so long confinement on ship-board. In the afternoon, when the ladies and gentlemen made their second visit, they brought tea with them in silver pots and cups; and their manner of drinking it was through silver tubes. Some of the ladies presented the captain with some curious pocket pieces of silver and other metals. They were very agreeable all the afternoon, asking many questions in regard to how we liked the place, and the manner of their dress, which appeared very odd to us; or if the Boston ladies dressed different; and such like discourse. In the evening, the governor came to the works on the beach, and seemed much displeased with the company for having any communication with us; besides, he did not allow the captain, or any officer, to be on shore, though he did not give any orders to the contrary, when he gave liberty to land the forge. The ladies here, are extremely handsome; but their manner of dress did not seem pleasing to us. They wear large hoops, which extend 10 or 12 inches from the waist, all round; and the outside petticoat in large plaits all the way down, which must contain as much as 20 yards of silk, or any other cloth; it comes down a little below the knees; and from the hoop upward, they are laced tight, and wear a garment, similar to a cloak, round their shoulders.

We had pleasant gales, from the S. E. quarter, as far as the long. 77° 30′ W. and the latitude 26° S. we then had the wind baffling, with light airs, for some days.

July the 5th, we made the island St. Felix, bearing S. W. about

* Mr. Burling.

about 10 leagues. We observed the variation of the magnetic needle in our way from the continent to these islands, to be from 9 to 10 degrees east. At 6 o'clock, the morning of the 6th, we made the island St. Ambrose. It lies due west of St. Felix, about 4 or 5 leagues; and at first making, appears like two small islands, which we afterwards found to join by a reef. The smallest makes in the form of a shoe, for which we gave it the name of *Shoe-island.* These islands lie in the latitude 26° 13′ south; and the longitude of the island *St. Ambrose* we make, by several good sights of the sun and moon, to be 80° 55′ W. of Greenwich. There is a large rock, about 4 miles to the northward of the island, which, at first making, appears like a sail, which we called *Sail Rock.* At 7 o'clock in the morning, we dispatched the pinnace, with the second officer and six hands, to examine *St. Felix* island, and found it inaccessible. They then proceeded to *St. Ambrose*, to examine it. At the same time, we stood on for it, with a light breeze from the eastward. At 5 in the evening, got abreast of St. Ambrose, bearing then south of us: Saw the pinnace, from 2 to 4 o'clock, examining the shore and inlets; hoisted a signal for her to return to the ship, but they did not perceive it. At half past 5, saw the pinnace, as it appeared to us, going into a creek; and at 7, they had a light on shore, from which we concluded they would remain all night. We kept a light at our mast-head, all the night, for the boat; but they did not return. At 7 o'clock, the next morning, we discovered the pinnace hauled up on the beach, with the people around her; we then supposed her stove, or that some accident had happened to them. We immediately dispached the jolly-boat, with the third officer,* and three hands, to know the cause of their detention; and about ten o'clock she returned. The third officer, who went in her, informed us, the boat and crew were all safe on the beach, but could not get off through the turf. We immediately sent her back again with an anchor and lines, to haul the pinnace off the beach; at the same time, we could discover, with our glasses, numbers of seals on the shore; and the third officer informed us, that the rocks and beaches were covered with them. At two, P. M. being then the 8th of July, saw both boats coming off from the shore, and at four o'clock got along-side; the pinnace had in her 128 skins, and some seals, superior in quality to any I ever saw. They

* Mr. Kendrick.

informed us, that there was no end to the quantity of seals on shore.

We immediately got out the long-boat, prepared her for going on shore, the next morning, with stores and a crew. Accordingly, the next morning got the stores and sealing gear, with twelve hands, the second officer and myself, in the long and jolly-boats; and at 8 o'clock, we put off from the ship, equipped for work; they gave us three cheers, which we returned, and proceeded for the shore, which was then about three leagues S. W. of us. At noon, we got in with the shore; found it impossible to land, on account of the surf, it being much higher than we discovered it since we made the islands. We immediately returned to the ship, got along-side at one o'clock, took all the stores out of the boats, and veered them astern, the weather having a threatening, unsettled appearance.

The weather continued unsettled until the 13th, during which time we kept between and about the islands, as near as the weather would admit; when, on that day, having a favourable appearance, we made the second attempt. At 8, A. M. left the ship, with both boats manned and stored as before; and at 10 o'clock got in with the shore, and anchored at the outside of the surf, landed in the jolly-boat myself and four hands, through a dangerous surf; took on shore with us, a hauling line from the long-boat, to haul the casks of water, and other stores, out of her. We launched the jolly-boat off a second time, and got all the people out of the long-boat, excepting the second officer and two hands, who remained to discharge her. The surf was then rising very fast; and when we got about half the stores on shore, the hauling line gave way; but by means of *Thomas Kilby*, who was an extraordinary good swimmer, brought it out again through a surf, that, at moderate calculation, ran from 12 to 18 feet high. This person we always found to be very serviceable, as oftentimes, when the boat came with supplies, we should find it impossible to land them, were it not for his exertions, who always would carry out a line to the boat, when it would be impossible for us to launch the jolly-boat. Got all the stores out of the boat, the surf rising to a prodigious height, and the weather having an unfavourable appearance; and finding it impossible to launch the jolly-boat again, to take the remainder of the people out of the long-boat,

long-boat, they therefore were obliged to put off for the ship, and the next day returned with more stores, which we got on shore as before.

Until the 15th, we were employed in getting our stores upon the island, and tents pitched; then we began our attack on the seals, which at that time were very numerous; and in seven weeks from that date, we killed and cured *eleven thousand skins*, superior in quality to any I ever saw. Having procured these, we thought it most prudent to ship them, as the season of the year made us fearful of heavy rains, that would damage the skins.

We then collected them all to the westernmost part of the island, which we found to be the best place for shipping them; which place, if we had known, when we first landed on the island, would have saved us a great deal of trouble and difficulty, which was oftentimes attended with a risk of our lives. Here we could land along side the rocks, as well as at any wharf, and seldom or ever any surf to hinder a boat to land; but when landed, we had to go up a steep bank, by means of a rope ladder, which we found very convenient latterly, in getting at seal, which otherwise could not be got at. We oftentimes went down banks 100 feet perpendicular, by means of it, to kill seal.

We completed shipping all the skins, that were cured, in three days; and fortunately, the weather during that time, continued pleasant, and the sea exceeding smooth. Our intention was to prosecute further the sealing business; but all at once the seal entirely quitted the island. We were informed by one of our people, that had been a sealing at the Faulkland islands, at all seasons of the year, that it was peculiar to that animal, at that season of the year, so to do, as they go off in deep water, to shed their fur, and wean their young, the latter part of every spring, and do not return for four or five weeks. This ended all our sealing on this island; yet we shared well for the time, having to the amount of 11,200 dried prime skins, and nearly 1800 pickled; in all near thirteen thousand, in my opinion, superior to any that were ever brought to the China market. From the first of *April* to the first of *August*, is the best time for sealing here; for in that time the fur is in perfection, and there is no end to the quantity of seal. If we had been fortunate enough to have got here two months sooner, I have no doubt but in three

three months from the time of our landing, we should have procured 20,000 skins.

However, this is all I can say in favour of this island, excepting fish, which are round it in great abundance; and I may venture to say, none in the globe can exceed them. The crawfish are likewise in great plenty all along the rocks; and when the spring of the year advanced we got the *sea-fowl's* eggs in great plenty. There is no water on the island, or the least appearance of a spring on any part of it; but from many gullies and water ways, that we saw there, the rains must fall very heavy at some seasons of the year. All round the island, excepting the north part, is a high perpendicular bank, from 60 to 100 feet of rotten rocks and stones; and on the north part, not more than 8 or 10 feet to the beach in some places. The whole face of the island is covered with stones and sand, apparently as if burnt, and run as if melted. I am fully convinced that there is not a more barren spot on the face of the earth. We have seen no kind of vegetation on the island, excepting a few small plants, too inconsiderable for description; and I have no doubt but an eruption has take place at some former period. The 21st September, having got all the skins, which we had procurred, on board, and finding the seal had entirely quitted the island, we repaired on board, with our baggage and gear.

From the 21st to the 23th, we lay off and on the island; sent the boats on shore every day, to catch fish for corning, for the remainder of our passage; as we concluded to go to the Marquesas, rather than to the Sandwich islands, on account of their being much nearer, and in our way to the coast of America. We had it from good authority, that they produced plenty of hogs and vegetables, which would conduce much to the health of our people, besides affording them plenty of water."

AN ACCOUNT OF THE DISCOVERY OF A GROUP OF ISLANDS IN THE NORTH PACIFIC OCEAN, BY CAPT. JAMES MAGEE, IN THE SHIP MARGARET, OF BOSTON, IN HIS RUN FROM CANTON TOWARD THE N. W. COAST OF AMERICA. EXTRACTED FROM HIS LOG-BOOK.

"TUESDAY, 6th of March, 1793, steering N. E., at 3 o'clock in the morning, we saw land, bearing N. E. by E.; tacked and stood to the N. W. At 5, tacked and stood to the E. At day-light, saw *six islands*, bearing from S. S. W. to N. by E.; the nearest appeared to be about four leagues distant. At 7, the southernmost island, by our account, we judged to lie in latitude 27°, the northernmost in 28° 4′, north.

"At 10, A. M. a large island was seen, bearing S. ½ W., to the southward of all which we had seen. At meridian, the extremes of the islands, in sight, bore as follows: That to the southward of us, from S. S. W. ½ W. to S. S. E. ½ E.; the ship's distance from the body of the island, five miles. That to the northward of us, and forms the channel we passed through, bore, at the same time, N. ½ W., distant 6 or 7 leagues. Several, which we had seen in the morning, were now out of sight; the most southern island not being in sight, but we supposed it to bear S. S. W., 8 leagues distant; and the most northern, N. by E., 12 or 13 leagues distant.

"The meridian altitude gave the latitude 27° 12′ N. The longitude, by a good observation of the sun and moon, was 214° 20′ W. from Greenwich.

"This group of islands lies nearly N. and S., extending about 64 nautical miles. As they are not laid down in any chart in our possession; and as I suppose myself the first discoverer, I give them the name of my ship, MARGARET'S ISLANDS.

"Wednesday, 7th of March,* at half past 5, P. M. while standing to the E., a large number of breakers were seen, off the E. end of the fourth island from the southward, which we found it impossible to weather. Wore ship, and stood to the westward, (the wind being then about E.), to clear these islands. At 6, the northernmost island, in sight bore N. N. W.;

* This was the same day, according to the civil account; but it is to be noted, that the marine day begins at noon, and the log account is kept in conformity to that custom.

N. N. W.; the southernmost, S. ½ E. At half past 6, double-reefed the topsails, and hauled up the courses. At half past 7, hove to. At 11, filled and stood, during the night, first N. E., then S. by E., then N. by W. At 6, the next morning, the northernmost island, seen the preceeding day, bore S. E. ½ E., 10 or 11 leagues distant. Being now clear of the islands, we let out our reefs, and set our top-gallant-sails, keeping our course to the N. E., as before this discovery. Latitude this meridian, 28° 19′ N."

A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE AGENCY OF THE HONOURABLE JOHN WINTHROP, ESQ. IN THE COURT OF KING CHARLES THE SECOND, ANNO DOM. 1662; WHEN HE OBTAINED A CHARTER FOR THE COLONY OF CONNECTICUT. WRITTEN BY ROGER WOLCOTT, ESQ. HIS SUCCESSOR IN THE GOVERNMENT OF CONNECTICUT, FROM 1751 TO 1754.

THE night is past, and civil wars o'er blown,
And the right heir advanced to the throne;
A general joy runs through Great-Britanny,
At the appearance of his majesty:
Loud cannons from the ships upon the Thames,
And from the batteries, fill'd the air with flames:
Whilst from the tower such mighty thunders went
As shook the islands, seas, and continent.
The rich, the poor, the old, the young, agree
To celebrate a joyful jubilee;
And to the utmost all themselves employ,
To make free demonstrations of their joy.
Some quaff full goblets of the richest wine;
And others make the blazing bonfires shine;
Whilst the devout their prayers to heaven sent,
For blessings on the king and government.
These happy tidings soon found out their way,
Unto the English in America;
Who join with Britain in the celebration
Of their just prince's happy restoration.
The sages of Connecticut do meet,
To pay their homage at their prince's feet;
To whom they seek to hasten an address,
To shew their duty and their joy's excess.

Learned

Learned Winthrop then, by general consent,
Sat at the helm, to sway the government;
Who prudently the people doth advise,
To ask the king for chartered liberties.
All like his counsel well; and all reply,
Sir, you must undertake our agency;
For there is none but you, we may expect,
Can make the thing you counsel take effect:
Your serving us in this important thing,
And personating us before the king,
Will sure endear a Winthrop's memory
To us, and to our last posterity.
His mind, vast as the heavenly spheres above,
Was all bespangled with the stars of love;
And zealous care for their posterity,
Of all his acts the primum mobile;
Led on by these bright stars' kind influence,
He hastens to the palace of his prince;
There waiting for an opportunity,———

Ere long, great Charles was in his counsel sat,
With some choice nobles of his cabinet:
His royal mind, intent on his affairs,
He thus unbosoms to his counsellers:

What news, My lords? *How go affairs abroad?*
What more remains to do for England's good?
Do distant parts of our dominion
Want farther help or favour from the throne?

At this, arose one of the lords of trade,
And to his majesty this answer made,
An agent from Connecticut doth wait,
With an address, before your palace gate.

Let him come in, says Charles, *and let us hear*
What has been done, and what's a doing there?

Winthrop, brought in before his prince's feet,
Prostrates himself with reverence, the king to greet;
And thanks his majesty for his access:
Then for his people offers this address:

'Great

'Great Sir, since reconciled Heaven restores
'You to the throne of your high ancestors,
'See how each subject emulating tries
'To express our national felicities;
'The joy of your accession to the throne
'Is like the lustre of the morning sun;
'Which from the east salutes the western shores,
'Still trampling under foot night's horrid powers:
'So the loud accents of this boundless joy,
'Echoing in our ears from Britanny,
'Gave light and gladness wheresoe'er it came,
'And fill'd our joyful hearts with equal flame.
'The sad remembrance of those days of woe,
'Which in your absence we did undergo,
'Transports our present joys to that excess,
'As passeth all expressions to express.
'May heaven preserve your majesty, and bless
'Your reign with honour, and with length of days;
'And in your line the regal power extend,
'Until the sun's last revolution end.
'And since we are at mighty Cæsar's feet,
'O may he pardon us while we entreat
'Your royal favour in the thing we want,
'T' incorporate us by your charter-grant.
'The land we've purchased, or subdued by fight,
'And bought of Fenwick what was Warwick's right,
'And all at the endeavour of our own,
'Without the least disbursement from the throne.'

Rise up, quoth Charles; *my liberal hand supplies*
All needful help to every one that cries;
Nor shall I be illiberal to you:
But, prithee, Winthrop, please to let me know
By whom it was your place did first commence,
Your patriarchs that led your tribes from hence?

'If to declare their worth, is what you ask,
'Then I must beg your pardon. That's a task
'So worthy due performance, and so great,
'As goes beyond my utterance and conceipt:
'But virtue never fails; succeeding days
'Shall much regard their merits, and shall raise

'Men

‘ Men of bright parts and moving oratory,
‘ Who shall emblazon their immortal glory.
‘ But if you ask to gain intelligence,
‘ What were the reasons why they went from hence,
‘ What straits they met with in their way, and there?
‘ These facts I think I'm able to declare.
‘ Religion was the cause: Divinity
‘ Having declared the gospel shine should be
‘ Extensive as the sun's diurnal shine;
‘ This mov'd our founders to this great design.
‘ And sure the Holy Spirit from above,
‘ That first did quickning on the waters move,
‘ Inspir'd their minds, and fill'd them with intents,
‘ To bring to pass such glorious events.
‘ And now they wholly to this work devote,
‘ Mind not the country they are going out:
‘ Their ancient homes they leave, to come no more.
‘ Their weeping friends and kindred on the shore
‘ They bid adieu, and with an aching heart
‘ Shake hands; 'tis hard when dearest friends must part.
‘ But here they part, and leave their parent isle,
‘ Their whilome happy seat. The winds a while
‘ Are courteous, and conduct them on their way,
‘ To near the midst of the Atlantic sea,
‘ When suddenly their pleasant gales they change
‘ For dismal storms that on the ocean range.
‘ For faithless Æolus, meditating harms,
‘ Breaks up the peace, and priding much in arms,
‘ Unbars the great artillery of heaven,
‘ And at the fatal signal by him given,
‘ The cloudy chariots threatening take the plains;
‘ Drawn by wing'd steeds, hard pressing on their reins.
‘ These vast battalions, in dire aspect rais'd,
‘ Start from the barriers-night with lightning blaz'd.
‘ Whilst clashing wheels resounding thunder cracks,
‘ Struck mortals deaf, and heaven astonished shakes.
‘ Here the ship captain, in the midnight watch,
‘ Stamps on the deck, and thunders up the hatch;
‘ And to the mariners aloud he cries,
‘ Now all from safe recumbency arise:
‘ All hands aloft, and stand well to your tack,
‘ Engendering storms have cloath'd the sky with black,

'Big tempests threaten to undo the world:
'Down top-sail, let the main-sail soon be furl'd,
'Haste to the fore-sail, there take up a reef:
''Tis time, boys, now if ever to be brief:
'Aloof for life, let's try to stem the tide,
'The ship's much water, thus we may not ride:
'Stand roomer then, let's run before the sea,
'That so the ship may feel her steerage way:
'Steady at helm! Swiftly along she scuds,
'Before the wind, and cuts the foaming suds,
'Sometimes aloft she lifts her prow so high,
'As if she'd run her bowsprit through the sky;
'Then from the summit ebbs and hurries down,
'As if her way were to the center shown.
'Meanwhile our founders in the cabin sat,
'Reflecting on their true and sad estate;
'Whilst holy Warham's sacred lips did treat
'About God's promises, and mercies great.
'Still more gigantic births spring from the clouds,
'Which tore the tatter'd canvass from the shrouds,
'And dreadful balls of lightning fill the air,
'Shot from the hand of the great Thunderer.
'And now a mighty sea the ship o'er takes,
'Which falling on the deck the bulk-head breaks;
'The sailors cling to topes, and frighted cry,
'*The ship is foundered, we die! we die!*
'Those in the cabin heard the sailors screech;
'All rise, and reverend Warham do beseech,
'That he would now lift up to heaven a cry
'For preservation in extremity.
'He with a faith sure bottom'd on the word
'Of Him that was of sea and winds the Lord,
'His eyes lifts up to Heaven, his hands extends,
'And fervent prayers for deliverance sends.
'The winds abate, the threatening waves appease,
'And a sweet calm sits regent on the seas,
'They bless the name of their deliverer,
'Who now they found a God that heareth prayer.
'Still further westward on they keep their way,
'Ploughing the pavement of the briny sea,
'Till the vast ocean they had overpast,
'And in Connecticut their anchors cast.

'Here

'Here came Soheage, and told the company,
'The garden of America did lie
'Further up stream, near fifty miles from hence,
'Part of which country he himself was prince.
'Much ask'd of th' soil, much of the government,
'What kings were there? the land of what extent?
'All which, by his free answers, when they knew,
'They o'er his back a scarlet mantle threw.
'And now, invited with fresh southern gales,
'They weigh their anchors, and they hoist their sails,
'And northward for th' expected country stood,
'Upon the smiling pavement of the flood.
'At length they entered those awful straits,
'Where the stream runs through adamantine gates.
''Twas strange to see the banks advanc'd so high,
'As if with Atlas they bore up the sky.
'But when those dismal straits were passed through,
'A glorious country opens to their view,
'Cloath'd all in green, and to the eye presents
'Nature's best fruits and richest ornaments.
'Cheer'd with the sight, they set all sails a-trip,
'And rais'd the English ensign on their ship.
'Brave youths, with eager strokes, bend knotty oars,
'Glad shouts bring cheerful echos from the shores.
'As when the wounded amorous doth spy
'His smiling fortune in his lady's eye,
'O how his veins and breast swell with a flood
'Of pleasing raptures, that revive his blood!
'And grown impatient now of all delays,
'No longer he deliberating stays;
'But through the force of her resistless charms,
'He throws him, soul and body, in her arms.
'So we, amazed at these seen delights,
'Which to fruition every sense invites,
'Our eager mind, already captive made,
'Grow most impatient now to be delay'd,
'This most delightful country to possess;
'And forward, with industrious speed, we press,
'Upon the virgin stream, who had, as yet,
'Never been violated with a ship.
'Upon the banks king Aramamet stood,
'And round about his wondering multitude,

'Greatly

'Greatly amazed at such an uncouth show:
'What is't, they cried? Some say, a great canoe.
'Others, a bird that in the air doth fly,
'With her long bill, and wings up to the sky.
'But other some, whom fear did terrify,
'Cry'd, 'tis some ill-presaging prodigy.
'Nothing on earth more impetuous we find
'Than terror, when it seizeth on the mind.
'Dreadful effects of this did soon appear,
'The multitude surpris'd with chilling fear;
'With looks distracted, and out-staring eyes,
'Each scares himself, and others terrifies;
'Only the king, who had within his breast,
'A heart which foolish fear could not infest,
'Perceiv'd the matter, and the ship he hails,
'Now drop your anchors, and unbend your sails;
'And if for peace and friendship you are come,
'And do desire this land should be your home,
'Let some of your chief leaders come to land,
'And now with me join their right hand to hand.
'Sails lower amain, nor oars now touch the flood,
'Down drop the anchors deep into the mud:
'Their chiefs repair to land, and with them bring,
'Obliging presents for the Indian king.
'Majestic Aramamet, with his lords,
'Steps forth to meet those guests without his guards;
'Meeting he paus'd, astonish'd at the sight;
'Such men, such airs, with countenances bright,
'He ne'er had seen, nor now to see expecting;
'Amaz'd he stood a while! but recollecting
'His scattered intellect, he cries, who's there?
'Whence come you? Seek you with us peace or war?
'Britons you see, say they, and we are come
'From England, happiest seat in Christendom,
'Where mighty Charles obligeth sea and land,
'To yield obedience to his sceptred hand;
'Nor came we here to live with you in wars,
'As he knows best, that made sun, moon and stars;
'But rather here to live with you in peace,
'Till day and night's successive changes cease.
'This we propose; and this if you approve,
'And do respect our neighbourhood and love,

'Then

‘ Then sell us land, whereon we towns may plant,
‘ And join with us in friendly covenant.
‘ What you propose, (quoth he,) is just and good,
‘ And I shall e'er respect your neighbourhood ;
‘ Land you may have, *we value not the soil*,
‘ *Accounting tillage too severe a toil.*
‘ Then he his own right hand to theirs doth join,
‘ Of his sure friendship the undoubted sign ;
‘ Then brings them to his house, and from his boards
‘ Feasts them with what his country best affords.
‘ Whilst here they stay at Aramamet's court,
‘ Hither the neighbouring Indian kings resort,
‘ And join with them in articles of peace,
‘ And of their lands make firm conveyances ;
‘ And being now by deeds and leagues secure,
‘ Their towns they built, their purchas'd land manure.'
Thus far he said ; Then said his majesty,
Methinks, I have a curiosity
To know this country, that for ages past
Lay hid, and you have now found out at last ;
This new found river, is it fresh and fair ?
What land adjoins to it ? Has't a pleasant air ?

Learn'd Winthrop, bow'd with humble reverence,
T' express his loyalty unto his prince.
And then these his demands to satisfy,
He with a cheerful air made this reply :

‘ This your desire, great Sir, bears me in mind,
‘ What in the ancient register we find
‘ Of the first king in Jesurun, from whose breast
‘ Such vast and ample thoughts themselves exprest :
‘ That they have by the world been held e'er since,
‘ Of truth and wisdom clearest evidence.
‘ This mighty man desired of his God
‘ That he before his life's last period,
‘ Might be permitted once to look upon
‘ The land, that goodly Mount and Lebanon ;
‘ Which his desire was thus accomplished,
‘ After his charge was done, then he was led
‘ Up to the top of Pisgah, and his eye
‘ From thence was well enabled to descry

‘ The

'The land of promise in its full extent,
'And all things in it that were excellent.
'Long did he feast his hungry eyes, and gaz'd
'Upon those objects, until, all amaz'd
'And ravished with the sight thus to him given,
'His vast capacious soul flew up to heaven.
'But thus to view fine countries from afar
'Must still remain that man's peculiar;
'And though I think our land is near as good
'As that which then was unto Moses shew'd,
'Yet may it not from me be now expected
'Its worth should be so amply dissected,
'Yet will I do my best to satisfy
'What is demanded by your majesty.
'This gallant stream keeps running from the head,
'Four hundred miles ere it with neptune bed,
'Passing along hundred of rivulets,
'From either bank its chrystal waves besets,
'Freely to pay their tributes to this stream,
'As being chief and sovereign unto them;
'It bears no torrent nor impetuous course,
'As if 'twere driven to the sea by force.
'But calmly on a gentle wave doth move,
'As if 'twere drawn to Thetis' house by love.
'The waters fresh and sweet; and he that swims
'In it, recruits and cures his surfeit limbs.
'The fisherman the fry with pleasure gets,
'With seines, pots, angles, and his tramel-nets.
'In it swim salmon, sturgeon, carp and eels;
'Above, fly cranes, geese, duck, herons and teals;
'And swans, which take such pleasure as they fly,
'They sing their hymns oft long before they die.
'The grassy banks are like a verdant bed,
'With choicest flowers all enameled,
'O'er which the winged choristers do fly,
'And wound the air with wonderous melody,
'Here philomel, high perch'd upon a thorn,
'Sings cheerful hymns to the approaching morn.
'The song once set, each birds tunes up his lyre,
'Responding heavenly music through the quire,
'Within these fields, fair banks of violets grows;
'And near them stands the air-perfuming rose,

'And

‘ And yellow lilies fair enameled,
‘ With ruddy spots here blushing hang the head.
‘ These meadows serve not only for the sight,
‘ To charm the eye with wonder and delight;
‘ But for their excellent fertility,
‘ Transcends each spot that ere beheld sol's eye,
‘ Here lady Flora's richest treasure grows,
‘ And here she bounteously her gifts bestows.
‘ The husband-man, for all his diligence,
‘ Receives an ample, liberal recompence,
‘ And feasting on the kidneys of the wheat,
‘ Doth soon his labour and his toil forget.
‘ After the meadows thus have took their place,
‘ The champion plains draw up to fill the space.
‘ Fair in their prospect, pleasant, fruitful, wide,
‘ Here Tellus may be seen in all his pride.
‘ Cloud-kissing pines in stately man-groves stand,
‘ Firm oaks fair branches wide and large extend.
‘ The fir, the box, the balm-tree, here stand mute,
‘ So do the nut-trees, laden down with fruit.
‘ In shady vales the fruitful vine o'erwhelms
‘ The waving branches of the bending elms.
‘ Within the covert of these shady boughs,
‘ The loving turtle and his lovely spouse,
‘ From bough to bough, in deep affection move,
‘ And with chaste joy reciprocate their love.
‘ At the cool brooks, the beavers and the minks
‘ Keep house, and here the hart and panther drinks.
‘ And partridges here keep in memory,
‘ How to their loss they soared once too high.
‘ Within these spacious forests, fresh and green,
‘ No monsters of burnt Africk may be seen.
‘ No hissing bassilisk stands to affright,
‘ Nor seps, nor hemorhus, with mortal bite;
‘ The lybian lion ne'er set footing here,
‘ Nor tygers of Numidia do appear.
‘ But here the moose his spreading antlers sways,
‘ And bears down stubborn standels with their sprays.
‘ These sport themselves within these woods, and here
‘ The fatted roe-buck and the fallow deer
‘ Yield venison as good as that which won
‘ The patriarchal benediction.

‘ Each

'Each plain is bounded at its utmost edge
'With a long chain of mountains in a ridge,
'Whose azure tops advance themselves so high,
'They seem like pendants hanging in the sky.
'Twenty-four miles, surveyors do account
'Between the eastern and the western mount;
'In which vast interspace, pleasant and fair,
'Zephyrus whispers a delightful air.
'These mountains stand at equi-distant space
'From the fair flood, in such majestick grace,
'Their looks alone are able to inspire
'An active brain with a mercurial fire.
'The muses hence their ample dews distil,
'More than was feigned from the twy-topt hill.
'And if those witty men that have us told
'Strange tales of mountains in the days of old,
'Had they but seen how these are elevated,
'We should have found them far more celebrated,
'In the fine works that they have left to us,
'Than high Olympus or long Cancassus;
'Or Latmos, which Diana stops upon,
'There to salute her dear Endimion.
'Hither the eagles fly, and lay their eggs;
'Then bring their young ones forth out of those crags,
'And force them to behold sol's majesty,
'In mid-noon glory, with a steady eye.
'Here the old eagle his long beak belays
'Upon a rock, till he renews his days.
'And hence they from afar behold their prey,
'And with a steady pinion wing their way.
'But why so excellent a land should lie
'So many ages in obscurity,
'Unseen, unheard of, or unthought upon,
'I think there's no good reason can be shown
'Unless 'twere as it seems the mind of fate,
'Your royal name long to perpetuate,
'So ordered it that such a land might owe
'Thanks for it's liberties, great Sir, to you.
'The English settlements, when thus begun,
'Were blest and prosper'd in their carrying on.
'Churches embody, Heaven they address,
'For preservation in the wilderness.

'The

'The heathen they invite unto the Lord,
'And teach them the good knowledge of his word.
'Heav'n heard their pray'rs, and their labour crown'd
'With health and peace, with all their neighbours round.
'Thus all succeeded well, until the sun
'Had near one time his annual circle run,
'When great Sasacus rose in impious arms,
'And fill'd the land with mischiefs and alarms.
'But since I've mentioned great Sasacus' name,
'That day so much a terror where it came,
'Let me, in prosecuting of my story,
'Say something of his pride and kingdom's glory.
'Of the brave Pequot nation he was head,
'And with such conduct had their armies led,
'That by the power of his martial bands,
'He had subjected all the neighbouring lands,
'Upon the vanquish'd he would exercise
'The most inhuman acts of cruelties,
'By which, and by his often victories,
'He grew so dreadful to his enemies,
'That weaponless they fell before his feet,
'For pardon and protection to entreat.
'Great was his glory, greater still his pride;
'Much by himself and others magnified.
'He hears the English in the eastern parts
'Are of such stoutness and resolved hearts,
'That they will do no homage to the throne
'Of any sov'reign prince, except their own.
'This suiteth not with his ambitious breast;
'He'll have their homage too amongst the rest.
'And such of them as fall within his power,
'He like an hungry lion doth devour.
'He Norton, Stone, and Oldham, doth surprise,
'Then murders them and all their companies;
'Seizeth their goods, and them for presents sends,
'At once to comfort and confirm his friends.
'Their deaths the Massachusetts doth resent,
'And Endicott is with an army sent;
'Who, though he wisely did the war pursue,
'And did what a brave general could do;
'Yet he return'd again without success,
'And Pequots kept insulting ne'ertheless.

'So great a work, and mighty was it found,
'To fix your English on that distant ground.
'Mean while, the English of that colony,
'On whose account I'm here in agency,
'Entered the river, and posses'd the same,
'Paying no deference to his dreadful name.
'This high affront the tyrant deep resents,
'And vows to ruinate their settlements.
'His priests, his captains, and great men of war,
'He calleth to consult on this affair.
'Who being met, the case to them relates,
'And thus the wretch on us recriminates:
'My noble captains and wise counsellers,
'You know how that of old our ancestors,
'By their known liberties and ancient laws,
'Were well allowed to marry many squaws.
'Their way of worship was to dance and sing,
'By the religious rules of Powawing.
'Their gods always accepted their address,
'And crown'd their arms with glorious success.
'Then was the Pequot name greatly renown'd,
'And terrible to neighbouring nations round.
'These rules and their estate so prosperous,
'They handed down unblemished to us:
'And we have been as prosperous in our days,
'In following their long approved ways.
'But there's of men a more audacious brood,
'Lately come hither from beyond the flood,
'Who teach us other doctrines to believe,
'Than ever our fore-fathers did receive:
'These tell the Indians they have got no eyes:
'But as for they themselves are very wise.
'They preach there is no other God but one;
'Him whom your fathers worship'd, he is none.
'Their way of worship was a cursed way;
'They serv'd the devil in their antick play.
'Tis very like they now are all in hell,
'Where they in fire and brimstone roar and yell.
'And you, for following the steps they tread
'Are like enough so to be punished,
'Unless for what is past you soon repent,
'And turn you from those ways to full intent.

'You

'You must not have so many handsome wives,
'*That* dont consist with mortified lives;
'And we allow no such pluralities;
'Therefore forsake them, pity not their cries.
'The Sabbath you must keep, yea fast and pray,
'And watch your wicked hearts both night and day.
'And when all this is done, you must complain,
'All stands for nothing till your born again.
'Now shall we all at once be rul'd by them,
'And so our fathers and our gods condemn?
'Shall we at once forsake our pleasant wives,
'That so we may live mortified lives?
'Shall we yield them the empire we command,
'And humbly wait upon them cap in hand?
'Or shan't we rather curb them now betimes,
'And make them feel the folly of their crimes?
'Speak freely. On the honour of a prince,
'I'll hear as freely, and without offence.
'Then an old Panime rose, to ease his breast,
'And thus his deep resentments he exprest:
'Such horrid words, such sayings blasphemous,
'Comes from no tongue but the most impious.
'All nations yet have ever honoured
'The sacred name and mem'ry of the dead.
'No man till these dare ever yet despise,
'And trample on immortal deities.
'No strangers yet, till conquest gave them cause,
'Dare once prescribe to native princes laws.
'Which shews their blasphemy and insolence
'Is great, and doth surpass all precedents.
'Our laws, our empire, and religion too,
'Are safely, Sir, deposited with you.
'And you have kept them safely hitherto,
'As 'tis your duty and your praise to do.
'Suffer them not to keep insulting thus,
'Nor put such impositions upon us.
'But arm your warriors; let us try the odds
'Twixt them and us, 'twixt theirs and our gods.
'For much I fear impending vengeance
'Will ruin us, unless we drive them hence.
'This said, one of his chiefest warriors rose,
'And thus his mind did to his prince disclose:

'If

'If they are so audacious while a few,
'When grown a multitude, what will they do?
'Therefore 'tis my advice to arm, and try
'The quarrel with them in their infancy.
'Sure now, if ever, we may well succeed,
'Whilst warlike Sasacus doth us lead;
'Whose very name and martial policy
'Has always gain'd us half the victory.
'To what he said, they all agreed as one:
'Now is the trumpet of defiance blown.
'War with the English nation is proclaim'd;
'(Their priests their martial men greatly enflam'd).
'A bloody host is sent to Saybrook fort,
'To plunder, kill and cut the English short:
'Where they arriv'd, and diverse murdered;
'Then round the English fort beleaguered.
'Another army cross the land is sent,
'With fire and sword to kill the innocent.
'At Weathersfield they lay in ambuscade,
'And a sad slaughter of the people made.
'Others they took, and them in captive led
'Unto their forts, there to be tortured.
'Thus from our peace most suddenly we are
'Wrapt up in the calamities of war.
'So have I sometimes in the summer seen
'The sun ascending and the sky serene;
'Nor wind nor cloud in all the hemisphere,
'All things in such a perfect calmness were.
'At length a little cloud doth up arise,
'To which the nitrous sulphury vapour flies.
'Soon a dark mantle over heaven spread,
'With which the lamp of day was darkened.
'And now the clouds in tempest loud contend,
'And rain and dreadful lightning downward send;
'With which such loud and mighty thunders broke,
'As made earth tremble, and the mountains smoke;
'And the convulsive world seem drawing on
'Apace to her own dissolution;
'The awfulness of which amazing sight
'Greatly did earth's inhabitants affright.
'E'en so those halcyon days, that were with us,
'Were soon turn'd into times tempestuous.

'Mischief

'Mischief on mischief every day succeeds,
'And every mischief greater mischief breeds.
'The numerous nations all the country o'er
'Who had appeared friendly heretofore,
'Seeing the Pequots had the war begun,
'And well succeeded in their carrying on,
'Calling to mind their former victories,
'The English men grew abject in their eyes.
'Some at the first the Pequot armies join'd
'And all the rest but of a wavering mind;
'Waiting but for an opportunity
'To murder us by force or treachery.
'No confidence in any we repose,
'Our seeming friends we find our real foes.
'Fears never to behold the morning light,
'Encumbered our natural rest each night.
'Nor had we place of refuge to repair,
'Only to the Most High in Heaven by prayer;
'To whom was offered up the sacrifice
'Of broken hearts, and penitential cries.
'A council met at Hartford, who conclude,
'We must subdue the foe, or be subdued;
'And that the gangrene still would further stray,
''Till the infected limb be cut away.
'And thereupon they ordered and decreed,
'To raise our utmost forces with all speed.
'This resolution publish'd and declar'd,
'Ninety brave combatants in arms appear'd.
'This was the sum of all our infantry,
'Yet scarce a tithe unto the enemy.
'But what they wanted in their multitude,
''Twas hop'd their resolution would make good.
'These were the men, this was the little band,
'That durst the force of the new world withstand;
'These were the men that by their swords made way
'For peace and safety in America.
'And these are those whose names fame hath enrol'd,
'Fairly in brightest characters of gold.
'The army now drawn up: To be their head
'Our valiant Mason was commissioned;
'(Whose name is never mentioned by me,
'Without a special note of dignity).

'The

'The leader march'd them to the river side,
'There to embark his army on the tide;
'Where lay our little fleet, to wait upon
'Our army for their transportation.
'(Going on board, Oraculous Hooker said,
'Fear not the foe, they shall become your bread).
'Twas here that Uncass did the army meet,
'With many stout Mohegans at his feet.
'He to the general goes, and doth declare,
'He came for our assistance in the war.
'He was that sagamore, whom great Sasacus' rage
'Had hitherto kept under vassalage.
'But weary of this great severity,
'He now revolts and to the English fly.
'With cheerful air our captain him embraces,
'And him and his chief men with title graces;
'But over them preserved a jealous eye,
'Lest all this might be done in treachery.
'Then down the river with their fleet they stood;
'But stranding often on the flats and mud.
'Uncass impatient of such long delays,
'Stood forth, and freely to the general says,
'Suffer me and my men to go on shore,
'We are not us'd to shipping, sails and oar.
'I'll range the woods to find the enemy,
'Where they in their close ambushments may lie;
'And unto you at Saybrook will repair,
'And so attend your further orders there.
'Consented to, they land immediately,
'And marching down, soon met the enemy:
'And showers of arrows on them he bestows,
'Swifter than ever flew from Parthian bows.
'At length the Pequots left the field and fled,
'There leaving many of their fellows dead.
'The news of this our forces greatly cheers,
'And turned to confidence our jealous fears.
'Coming to Saybrook, Uncass on them waits,
'Whose good success our men congratulates.
'Here captain Underhill with our army join'd,
'And being favoured with a lucky wind,
'All haste on board, and soon forsake the shore,
'With the rough winds, both sails and tackle roar.

'Their

'Their oaken oars they in the ocean steep,
'And cuff the foaming billows of the deep.
'Swiftly through tides and threatening waves they scud,
'Ploughing the pavement of the briny flood:
'So fetch'd about a compass on the sea,
'And landed in the Narragansett-bay;
'And marching through that country, soon they met
'The Narragansett prince, proud Ninegrett.
'To whom the English says, We lead these bands,
'Arm'd in this manner, thus into your lands,
'Without design to do you injury,
'But only to invade the enemy;
'You who to the expense of so much blood
'Have long time born their evil neighbourhood,
'Will bid us welcome; and will well excuse
'That we this way have took our rendezvous.
'Quoth Ninegrett, your war I well approve,
'And so your march, soldiers, I always love:
'But sure Sasacus, is quite unknown to you,
'Else had you never hoped, with so few,
'One of his smallest captains to suppress,
'Much less to storm him in his fortresses.
'Never believe it: In these castles are
'Brave captains and courageous men of war.
'All men have found it so that yet have try'd.
'To whom the English thus in short reply'd:
'Their strength and courage doth not us affright,
'Tis with such men we use and choose to fight.
'Our army marching unto Nayantick goes,
'Lying just in our progress towards the foes.
'The news of this our march, fame doth transport
'With speed to great Miaantinomoh's court.
'Nor had that pensive king forgot the losses,
'He had sustain'd through Sasacus's forces.
'Cheer'd with the news, his captains, all as one,
'In humble manner do address the throne,
'And press the king to give them his commission,
'To join the English in this expedition.
'To their request the cheerful king assents,
'And now they fill and form their regiments
'To war: A cohort which came marching down
'To us, who lay encamp'd before the town.

'Their

'Their chiefs go to our general, and declare
'What's their intention, and whose men they are.
'We come, say they, with heart and hand to join
'With Englishmen upon this brave design;
'For Pequot's pride allows them no content
'Within the sphere of their own government;
'Without essays to wrong their brethren,
'And ravish freedom from the sons of men,
'Which makes this work most needful to be done,
'To stop their measureless ambition.
'But sure the war that you intend to make,
'And manage thus, must come from your mistake.
'Can these un-arrowed white men, such a few,
'So much as hope the Pequots to subdue?
'Yes, hope you may, while fatal ignorance
'Keeps back the knowledge of their puissance.
'But if you come to be engaged once,
'You'll learn more wit by sad experience.
'But happy you; who thus yourselves expose,
'To be the prey and triumph of your foes.
'Thrice happy you to be preserved thus
'From your destruction, and such deaths by us:
'And since our numbers and our features show
'Us men, as well and better men than you,
'We hope it will offend not you nor yours,
'The chiefest post of honour should be ours.
'Mason harangues them with high compliments;
'And to confirm them, he to them consents.
'Hold on, bold men, says he, as you've began:
'I'm free and easy, you shall take the van.
'And in this order marching, on they went
'Towards the enemy, till the day was spent.
'And now bright Phœbus had his chariot driven
'Down from the lofty battlements of heaven,
'And weary, put his tired steeds to rest,
'Bearing himself on blushing Thetis' breast.
'And lest the horrid darkness of the night
'Should quite eclipse the glory of his light,
'Fair Cynthia, towering up, did well embrace
'Her brother's light into her orbed face.
'The Indians still kept up their boasted flame,
''Till near the enemy's fortresses they came.

'But

'But as we always by experience find,
'Frost-bitten leaves will not abide the wind;
'Hang trembling on the limbs a while they may
'But when once Boreas roars, they fly away,
'To hide themselves in the deep vales below,
'And to his force leave the exposed bough.
'So these who had so often, to their harms,
'Felt the great power of Sasacus's arms,
'And now again just to endure the fame,
'The dreadful sound of great Sasacus's name,
'Seem'd every moment to attach their ears,
'And fill'd them with such heart-amazing fears,
'That suddenly they run and seek to hide,
'Swifter than leaves in the autumnal tide.
'The Narragansetts quit the service clear,
'But the Mohegans followed in the rear.
'Our men perceive the allies all are gone,
'And scarce a pilot left to lead them on;
'Caused an alta, and then from the rear
'Summon'd such Indians as were there to hear.
'At last, after long waiting for the same,
'Up trusty Uncass and stout Wequash came,
'Of whom the general, in strict terms, demands,
'Where stands the fort, and how their judgment stands,
'About the enterprise? And what's the cause
'They left their post, against all martial laws?
'To which we had this answer from a prince:
'The enemy's fort stands on yon eminence;
'Whose steep ascent is now before your eyes:
'And for my judgment in the enterprise,
'Fain would my willing heart hope for success,
'Fain would my eager tongue such hopes express:
'But knowledge of the foe such hope denies,
'And sinks my heart in deep despondencies.
'You cannot know the danger of your case,
'Not having yet beheld a Pequot's face.
'But sad experience hath instructed me,
'How dreadful and invincible they be;
'What mighty battles often have they won,
'And cut down armies like the grass that's mown.
'And my heart rues this day, because I fear
'Those lions will your lambs in pieces tear.

'When once they are engag'd, 'tis hard to get
'A dispensation from them to retreat.
'Sir, be advis'd before it be too late,
'Trust not too far your evil-boding fate;
'Great pity 'tis to lose so brave an host;
'And more that such a general should be lost.
'Then steer another course: thrust not yourselves
'To certain ruin on these dangerous shelves.
'Here stop'd, and on the English fix'd his eye,
'With care expecting what they would reply.
'Brave Mason, who had in his breast enshrin'd
'A prudent and invulnerable mind;
'Weighing the case and ground whereon they stood,
'The enemy how hard to be subdu'd;
'How if the field should by the foe be won,
'The English settlements might be undone.
'His little army now was left alone
'And all the allies' hopes and hearts were gone:
'These and all other things that might dissuade
'From an engagement, having fully weigh'd;
'But looking on his cheerful soldiery,
'True sons of Mars, bred up in Britanny;
'Each firmly bent to glorify his name,
'By dying bravely in the bed of fame,
'In his new country's just defence, or else
'To extirpate these murderous infidels;
'This rais'd his thoughts, his vital spirits cheer'd,
'So that no enemy on earth he fear'd.
'He now resolv'd the city to invade;
'And to the thoughtful prince this answer made.
'You say, my men han't yet a Pequot seen;
'Tis true, yet they ere now in wars have been,
'Where mighty captains and brave men have shed
'Their blood, while roaring cannons echoed;
'Yet they undaunted resolute go on,
'Where dying springs make sanguine rivers run;
'Out braving danger, mount the highest wall,
'Yea play with death itself without appal;
'Nor turn the back till they have won the day,
'And from the mighty torn the spoils away.
'And do you think that any Pequot's face
'Shall daunt us much, or alter much the case?

'The

'The valour of our foes we always prize,
'As that which most our triumph glorifies.
'Their strength and courage but allurments are,
'To make us more ambitious of the war.
'Then don't despair, but turn your back again
'Encourag'd, and confirm your heartless men.
'And hinder them in their intended flight,
'Only to see how Englishmen will fight;
'And let your eyes themselves be judges then
''Twixt us and Pequots, which are better men.
'Down bow'd the prince, down bow'd this trembling 'squire;
'Greatly the gen'ral's courage they admire.
'Back to the rear, with speedy haste they went,
'And call the captains of their regiment;
'To whom the prince doth in short terms declare,
'English or Pequots must go hunt white deer.
'No counsel can the general's wrath assuage,
'Nor calm the fury of his martial rage.
'His men are all resolved to go on,
'Unto the Pequot's ruin or their own:
'Then we ourselves will stand in sight, and see
'The last conclusion of this tragedy.
'Mean while the general his oration makes,
'And with his army thus expostulates:
'There's such a crisis now in providence,
'As scarce has been since time did first commence.
'Fate has determin'd that this very day
'Shall try the title of America:
'And that these hands of ours shall be the hands,
'That shall subdue or forfeit all these lands.
'If this day's work by us be once well done,
'America is for the English won:
'But if we faint and fail in this design,
'The numerous nations will as one combine
'Their country's forces, and with violence
'Destroy the English and their settlements.
'Here we are strangers; and if we are beat,
'We have no place for safety or retreat.
'Therefore our hands must be preservatives
'Of our religion, liberties and lives.
'I urge not this as motives from despair,
'To which I know you utter strangers are;

'Only

'Only to shew what great advantages
'Attends your valour, urging the success.
'Mov'd with despair, the coward fights and storms,
'But your brave minds have more angelick forms.
'Your high-born souls in brighter orbs do move,
'And take in fair ideas from above;
'Minding the laurels that the victor wears,
'And great example of your ancestors.
'I know you can't their mighty acts forget,
'And yet how often did they them repeat?
'What did that ever famous black prince do,
'At first at Cressy, after at Poictou?
'Bravely he led the English squadrons on,
'Bravely they fought till they had took king John.
'Bravely he did his father's message bear,
'To save his life and honour in the war:
'For in that fight he rais'd the English fame
'Above the Grecian or the Roman name.
'And with what force and martial puissance
'Did great king Henry claim the crown of France?
'He like a gamester play'd his tennis balls,
'Like bolts of thunder over Paris walls.
'How lion-like he led his British bands,
'Though few in number through the Gallick lands!
'To Agincourt, then fac'd his mighty foe,
'And gave his multitude the overthrow;
'Where'er his generals came they did advance
'The English ensigns on the towers of France;
'Until that nation rendered up to him
'Their heiress and imperial diadem.
'And when of late king Philip did attempt
'Quite to subvert the British government;
'And for that end, sent out his mighty fleet,
'Whom Howards, Seymore, and bold Drake did meet,
'And meeting, took or sunk into the main
'The wealth, the hope, the power and pride of Spain.
'By such exploits, the English glory went
'Throughout from Britain to the Orient:
'And there too soon 'twas bounded by the seas
'And limited from the Antipodies.
'Nought of their worth in the new world was told,
'Nor more could be expressed in the old.

'Then

'Then fame itself dull and inactive grew
'For want of other business to pursue.
'But fate, which long hath destinated you,
'To prove the stories of th' old world i' th' new,
'Ship'd you on board, and with full gales hath sent
'You forth from Britain to this continent;
'And by this foe gives opportunity
'Here to evince the English bravery;
'And give the world assurance that we be
'Sons of those mighty men of Britannie.
'Tis true, our enemies are hard to tame;
'The more the danger is, the more's the fame.
'But they are strong, immur'd, a multitude:
'The more's the honour when they are subdu'd.
'But they are valiant, us'd to overthrow;
'What glory 'tis to conquer such a foe!
'Their very name hath made our allies run;
'Oh how will this adorn the field when won!
'Leave the success to Him whose boundless powers
'Will doubtless bless so just a war as ours.
'Then let's not give the sense of danger place,
'But storm the enemy's fortress in the face.
'So shall the line of your high praises run
'The same in time and circle with the sun:
'And happy Albion shall forever glory,
'Her distant sons did here make good her story.
'No more he said, then through the regiment
'Was heard a softly murmur of consent.
'*Amen*, our forces said; and then on high,
'To the world's Arbiter, lift up their eye,
'And with an humble air of earnestness
'Unto his Majesty made this address.

'O Most Divine, Eternal Majesty,
'Whose throne's exalted far above the sky;
'Where thou by spotless spirits art ador'd,
'As their, and our, and every things great Lord.
'Yea, so exalted is thy Majesty,
'So infinite is thy Divinity;
'That what the best and utmost praises be,
'Once to behold, is humbleness in thee;
'Yet albeit thou art exalted so,
'Thou hast a kind respect unto the low: 'And

'And from thy most exalted stations there,
'Viewest what's acting on thy footstool here.
'Thou in thy word dost oft and oft declare,
'Thy people's good is thine especial care:
'And hast more often in thy providence,
'Made good that word in their deliverance:
'So that their motto hitherto hath been,
'In the mount of the Lord it shall be seen.
'Look down from thy immense sublimities,
'To view our troubles and to hear our cries.
'Our eyes are unto thee, who canst subdue
'A multitude, and victors make a few.
'Mind, Lord, it was thy power and right-hand
'Hath brought us to, and set us in this land.
'Twas for thy sake that we left Britannie,
'And our enjoyments there, here to have thee.
'But how the heathen rage, and how their kings
'Against thee, and thy Christ, speak evil things?
'For sure the truth of their intentions be,
'By driving us from hence to banish thee.
'If thou art silent and allow'st the same,
'What wilt thou do unto thy dreadful name
'Thy promise to thy Son hast thou not * *
'That thou wilt give the heathen * * *
'And of the earth the utmost * * *
'To be to him for his possession.
'We hop'd of this to've seen th' accomplishment;
'Yea, and ourselves to help on the event.
'Then, Lord, arise, and to our help incline,
'And shout as mighty men shout after wine.
'Let the proud dwellers of the nations see
'There's none that is invincible but thee.
'So shall the wrath of man honour thy name,
'And this shall their remaining wrath restrain:
'And this thy people's thankful hearts shall raise
'To celebrate thy name with endless praise.

'After devotions thus to Heaven paid,
'Up to the enemy our armies led,
'Silent as the riphean snow doth fall,
'Or fishes walk in Neptune's spacious hall.
'Now Lucifer had just put out his head,
'To call Aurora from old Tithon's bed. 'Whereat

'Whereat the troops of the approaching light,
'Began to beat the reg'ments of the night.
'But Morpheus, with his unperceived bands,
'Had clos'd the Pequots' eyes, and chain'd their hands.
'All lay asleep, save one sagacious wretch,
'Who destin'd was to stand upon the watch.
'Firm to his charge, with diligence he applies,
'And looks around with fierce lyncean eyes.
'When our avant couriers he espy'd,
'Opening his lungs aloud, Auwunux cry'd.
'Auwunux, said our king, what doth that mean?
'It signifies, said Winthrop, Englishmen.
'The startling news doth every soldier rouse,
'Each arms and hastens to his rendezvous.
'Meantime the English did the fort attach,
'And in the same had opened a breach,
'Through which our brave Alcides entered first,
'In after whom his valiant soldiers thrust.
'Before the breach an unappalled band
'Of warlike Pequots, with bow and arrows stand.
'With cheerful accents these themselves confirm,
'To die like men, or to outface the storm.
'Then gallantly the English they assail,
'With winged arrows, like a shower of hail.
'These ours endure; and with like violence,
'Send lead and sulphur back in recompence.
'And now the fight grew more and more intense,
'Each violent death enflames the violence.
'Charge answered charge, and shout reply'd to shout;
'Both parties like enraged furies fought;
'Till death, in all its horrid forms, appears,
'And dreadful noise keeps clamouring in our ears.
'Now as some spacious rivers in their way,
'By which they travel onwards to the sea,
'Meet with some mighty precipice, from whence,
'Enrag'd, they throw themselves with violence
'Upon the stubborn rocks that lie below,
'To make disturbance in the way they go.
'Here, through the fury of the fray doth make
'The near adjacent rocks and mountains quake,
'Still the remorseless stream keeps on its course,
'Nor will abate a moment of its force,

'But

'But rather hastens by impetuous facts
'To throw itself into those cataracts.
'And so it happened with our soldiers here,
'Whose fortune 'twas to travel in the rear.
'The combatings of these within the breaches,
'With dreadful noise their listening ear attaches;
'And from their foes, and from their brethren,
'Loud cries of fighting and of dying men.
'Sense of the danger doth not them affright,
'But rather proves a motive to excite
'The martial flame in every soldier's breast,
'And on they like enraged lions prest;
'Determined upon the spot to die,
'Or from the foe obtain the victory.
'Now fortune shews to the beholders' sight,
'A very dreadful, yet a doubtful fight;
'Whilst mighty men, born in far distant land,
'Stood foot to foot, engaging hand to hand.
'As when some mighty tempests that arise,
'Meet with embattled fury in the skies:
'Fire balls of lightnings and loud thunders rend
'And tear the raging parties that contend.
'So did the fury of these mighty foes,
'With which they did each others force oppose,
'Bring on such ruins as might daunt with fears
'The hearts of any men, excepting theirs.
'Never did Pequots fight with greater pride:
'Never was English valour better try'd.
'Never was ground soak'd with more gallant blood
'Than the aceldama whereon we stood.
'Sometimes one party victory soon expect,
'As soon their eager hopes are countercheck'd.
'And those that seem'd as conquered before,
'Repel with greater force the conqueror.
'Three time the Pequots seemed to be beat:
'As many times they made their foes retreat.
'And now our hope and help for victory,
'Chiefly depended from the arm on high.
'As when Euroclydon the forest rends,
'The bigger oaks fall down, the lesser bends;
'The beaten limbs and leaves before him scour,
'Afrighted and enforced by his power;

'To

'To some huge rock, whose adamantine brow,
'Out-braves the fury of all winds that blow;
'There hoping to be hid from the high charge
'Of fierce pursuers, by his mighty verge.
'The winds in pressing troops demand surrender,
'Of the pursued, and boisterous storm and thunder:
'But he brow-beats, and masters all their pride,
'And sends them roaring to the larboard side.
'So Mason here, most strongly dress'd in arms,
'Re-animates his men, their ranks reforms;
'Then leading on, through deaths and dangers goes,
'And beats the thickest squadrons of the foes.
'Prince Mononotto sees his squadrons fly,
'And on our general having fix'd his eye,
'Rage and revenge his spirits quickening,
'He set a mortal arrow in the string.

'Then to his god and fathers' ghosts he pray'd,
'Hear, O immortal powers, hear me, he said;
'And pity Mistick, save the tottering town,
'And on our foes hurl dreadful vengeance down.
'Will you forsake your altars and abodes,
'To those contemners of immortal gods?
'Will those pay hecatombs unto your shrine,
'Who have deny'd your powers to be divine?
'O favour us; our hopes on you are built:
'But if you are mindful of our former guilt,
'Determine final ruin on us all;
'Yet let us not quite unrevenged fall.
'Here I devote this of our enemies
'His precious life to you a sacrifice.
'Nor shall I covet long to be alive,
'If such a mischief I might once survive.
'But, O indulgent, hearken to my prayer;
'Try us once more; this once the city spare:
'And take my gift, let your acceptance be
'An omen we shall gain the victory.

'That very instant Mason did advance,
'Whereat rage interrupts his utterance;
'Nor could he add a word to what was said,
'But drew the winged arrow to the head:

'And aiming right, discharg'd it; whereupon
'Its fury made the piercing air to groan.
'But wary Mason, with his active spear,
'Glanc'd the prince's arrow in the air:
'Whereat the Pequots, quite discouraged,
'Threw down the gauntlet, and from battle fled.
'Mason, swift as the chased roe on foot,
'Out-strips the rest in making the pursuit.
'Entering the palace, in a hall he found
'A multitude of foes, who gather'd round
'This mighty man, on every side engag'd
'Like bears bereaved of their whelps enrag'd.
'One finding such resistance where * * *
'His mind, his weapons and his eyes * * *
'Their boldness much his martial sprite provokes,
'And round he lays his deep inveterate strokes.
'Making his sword at each enforced blow
'Send great soul'd heroes to the shades below.
'But as when Hercules did undertake
'A doubtful combat with the Lernian snake,
'Fondly propos'd, if he cut off her head,
'The monster might with ease be vanquished.
'But when he the experiment did make,
'Soon to his hazard found his dear mistake,
'And that as often as he cut off one,
'Another instantly sprang in its room.
'So here, though Mason laid so many dead,
'Their number seemed not diminished;
'And death, the umpire of this martial fray,
'Stood yet expecting Mason for his prey.
'* * * that doth the rule of actions know,
'* * * equal combat disallow.
'* * * * to force one man alone,
'* * * army, take a garrison:
'* * * * in the enterprise,
'* * * victim to his enemies;
'* * * in, who with his sure steel'd b'ade,
'* * the general such a slaughter made,
'Whereon the Pequots ceased to oppose,
'The matchless force of such resistless foes.
'After so many deaths and dangers past,
'Mason was thoroughly enflamed at last:

'He

'He snatch'd a blazing bavin with his hand,
'And fir'd the stately palace with the brand.
'And soon the tow'ring and rapacious flame
'All hope of opposition overcame.
'Eurus and Notus readily subjoin
'Their best assistance to this great design;
'Drive pitchy flames in vast enfoldings down,
'And dreadful globes of fire along the town.
'And now the English army marched out,
'To hem this flaming city round about;
'That such as strived to escape the fire,
'Might by the fury of their arms expire.
'But O what language or what tongue can tell,
'This dreadful emblem of the flames of hell!
'No fantasy sufficient is to dream,
'A faint idea of their woes extreme.
'Some like unlucky comets do appear,
'Rushing along the streets with flagrant hair:
'Some seeking safety clamber up the wall,
'Then down again with blazing fingers fall.
'In this last hour of extremity,
'Friends and relations meet in company;
'But all in vain, their tender sympathy
'Cannot allay, but makes their misery.
'The paramour here met his amorous dame,
'Whose eyes had often set his heart in flame:
'Urg'd with the motives of her love and fear,
'She runs and clasps her arms about her dear:
'Where weeping on his bosom as she lies,
'And languisheth, on him she sets her eyes;
'Till those bright lamps do with her life expire,
'And leave him weltering in a double fire.
'The fair and beauteous bride, with all her charms,
'This night lay melting in her bridegroom's arms;
'This morning in his bosom yields her life,
'While he dies sympathising with his wife.
'In love, relation, and in life the same,
'The same in death, both die in the same flame.
'Their souls united, both at once repair
'Unto their place appointed through the air.
'The gracious father here stood looking on
'His little brood with deep affection;

'They

'They round about him at each quarter stands,
'With piteous looks, each lifts his little hands
'To him for shelter, and then nearer throng,
'Whilst piercing cries for help flows from each tongue.
'Fain would he give their miseries relief,
'Though with the forfeiture of his own life:
'But finds his power too short to shield off harms,
'The torturing flame arrests them in his arms.
'The tender mother with like woes opprest,
'Beholds her infant frying at her breast;
'Crying and looking on her, as it fries;
'Till death shuts up its heart-affecting eyes.
'The conquering flame long sorrows doth prevent,
'And vanquished life soon breaks imprisonment.
'Souls leave their tenements, gone to decay,
'And fly untouched through the flames away.
'Now all with speed to final ruin haste,
'And soon this tragick scene is overpast.
'The town, its wealth, high battlements and spires,
'Now sinketh, weltring in conjoining fires.
'The general commands the officers with speed,
'To see his men drawn up and martialed;
'Which being done, they wheel the ranks,
'And kneeling down, to Heav'n all gave thanks.
'By this Aurora doth with gold adorn
'The ever-beauteous eyelids of the morn;
'And burning Titan his exhaustless rays,
'Bright in the eastern horizon displays:
'Then soon appearing in majestic awe,
'Makes all the starry deities withdraw;
'Veiling their faces in deep reverence,
'Before the throne of his magnificence.
'And now the English their red cross display,
'And under it marched bravely toward the sea;
'There hoping in this needful hour to meet
'Ample provisions coming with the fleet.
'Meantime came tidings to great Sasacus's ears,
'That Mystick-town was taken unawares.
'Three hundred of his able men he sent,
'With utmost haste its ruin to prevent:
'But if for that they chance to come too late,
'Like harms on us they should retaliate.

'These

'These, with loud out-cries, met us coming down
'The hill, about three furlongs from the town;
'Gave us a skirmish, and then turn'd to gaze
'Upon the ruin'd city yet on blaze.
'But when they saw this doleful tragedy,
'The sorrow of their hearts did close their eye:
'Silent and mute they stand, yet breathe out groans;
'Nor Gorgon's head like this transforms to stones.
'Here lay the numerous bodies of the dead;
'Some frying, others almost calcined:
'All dolefully imprison'd underneath
'The dark and adamantine bars of death.
'But mighty sorrows never are content,
'Long to be kept in close imprisonment;
'When once grown desperate, will not keep under,
'But break all bands of their restraint asunder.
'And now with shrieks the echoing air they wound,
'And stamp'd and tore and curst the suffering ground.
'Some with their hands tore off their guiltless hair,
'And throw up dust and cinder in the air.
'Thus with strange actions and horrendous cries,
'They celebrate these doleful obsequies.
'At length revenge so vehemently doth burn,
'As caused all other passions to adjourn.
'Alecto raves and rates them in the ear,
'O senseless cowards, to stand blubbering here!
'Will tears revive these bodies of the slain,
'Or bring their ashes back to life again?
'Will tears appease their mighty ghosts, that are
'Hoping to be revenged, hovering here?
'Surely expecting you will sacrifice
'To them the lives of those their enemies:
'And will you baffle them thus by delay,
'Until the enemy be gone away?
'O cursed negligence! And then she strips,
'And jerks and stings them with her scorpion whips;
'Until with anger and revenge they yell,
'As if the very fiends had broke up hell.
'That we shall die, they all outrageous swear,
'And vomit imprecations in the air:
'Then, full speed! with ejulations loud,
'They follow us like an impetuous cloud.

'Mason,

'Mason, to stop their violent career,
'Rallies his company a-new to war;
'Who finding them within a little space,
'Let fly his blunderbusses in their face.
'Thick sulphurous smoke makes the sky look black,
'And heaven's high galleries thunder with the crack.
'Earth groans and trembles, and from underneath,
'Deep vaulted caverns horrid echoes breathe.
'The volley that our men first made,
'Struck down their stout file-leaders dead.
'To see them fall, a stupifying fear
'Surpris'd and stop'd their soldiers in the rear:
'The numerous natives stop'd, and fac'd about;
'Whereat the conquering English gave a shout.
'At which they start, and through the forest scour,
'Like trembling hinds that hear the lions roar.
'Back to great Sasacus they now return again;
'And of their loss they thus aloud complain,
'Sir, 'tis in vain to fight: The fates engage
'Themselves for those with whom this war we wage.
'We Mistick burning saw, and 'twas an awful sight;
'As dreadful are our enemies in fight:
'And the loud thunderings that their arms did make,
'Made us, the earth, yea heaven itself, to shake.
'Very unwelcome to great Sasacus's ears
'Were these misfortunes, and his subjects fears:
'Yet to his men, the English he contemns,
'And threats to ruin us with stratagems.
'And now his thoughts ten thousand ways divide,
'And swift through all imaginations glide.
'Endless projections in his head he lays,
'Deep policies and stratagems he weighs.
'Sometimes he thinks, he'll thus the war maintain
'Reviews the scheme, and throws it by again:
'Now thus, or thus, concludes 'tis best to do;
'But neither thus, nor thus, on the review.
'And thus his mind on endless projects wanders,
'Till he is lost in intricate meanders.
'At last gives up the case as desperate,
'And sinks, bewailing his forlorn estate.
'He and his people quite discouraged,
'Now leave their seats, and towards Monhattons fled.

'But

'But in his way the English sword o'er takes
'His camp, and in it sad massacres makes.
'Yet he escap'd, and to the Mohawks goes,
'Where he to them keeps reckoning up his woes:
'And they to cure the passions of his breast,
'Cut off his head, and all his cares releas'd.
'Thus great Sasacus! and his kingdom fell,
'Who in their time so greatly did excel.
'So frail and full of mutabilities,
'Are all times adjuncts, underneath the skies.
'Since this, fair towns have spread the country o'er,
'Both on the river and along the shore:
'All which the English names your subjects style,
'In dear remembrance of our parent isle.
'The land thus either purchas'd or subdu'd,
''Twas our intent then early to have sued
'Unto the throne, where your illustr'ous father sate,
'That he would graciously incorporate
'Us, by his royal charter, with such liberty,
'As I petition from your majesty.
'But soon those cloudy days came on,
'(Ripen'd for ruin and destruction);
'Wherein the subjects in rebellion rose,
'Drowning their sovereign and themselves in woes.
''Till nothing could appease the multitude,
'Less than that blessed martyr's royal blood.
'Nor yet content; their rage inveterate,
'Together with his life, seize on the state.
'Neither could that extinct the hateful flame,
'Without endeavours to destroy his name,
'And all his race to ruin to consign,
'For being branches of the royal line.
'But here my tongue does faulter, spirits sink,
'And my heart bursts asunder, once to think,
'That such a king, the glory of his age
'Should fall a victim to the popular rage;
'And that such miseries should fall on them,
'That were descendants of the royal stem.
'But God, who dwelleth in approachless light,
'And whose wise counsel doth surpass our sight,
'As far as heaven doth the earth in height,
'In his unerring counsel infinite,

'Covers

'Covers sometimes the footstool of his throne,
'And makes thick darkness his pavilion;
'And as we fondly guess by the event,
'Laughs at the trial of the innocent.
'Yet he, by ways and means that seem to us
'The clean contrary, and preposterous,
'Bringeth about the good he did decree,
'In his wise counsel, from eternity.
'He having set his love transcendantly
'Upon your father from eternity,
'The restless motions of his constant love
'Ne'er ceas'd to act, but in his interest strove,
'That he should be prepar'd to sit on high,
'In some especial seat of dignity.
'Surely 'twas this that led him to and fro,
'Along those pathless labyrinths of wo,
'And made his life as 'twere a tragedy,
'Concluding in that sad catastrophe.
'Being thus conformed to the king of kings,
'Who was made perfect thorough sufferings,
'He took him from his kingdom transitory,
'And set him on a throne of endless glory.
'And then, to shew the good he did design
'Unto that blessed martyr's royal line,
'Accomplished your happy restoration,
'And set you safely on your father's throne.
'From whence your liberal hand doth freely pour,
'Most royal bounty, like an heavenly shower;
'Distilling on the grass that's newly mown:
'And we your suppliants, before the throne,
'Beg leave to hope, while all your favours taste,
'Connecticut will not be overpast.'

Great Charles, who gave attention all the while,
Looking on Winthrop with a royal smile,
Until that of his father's woes he speaks,
Which drew the crystal rivers down his cheeks:
But seeing Winthrop his address had clos'd,
The king his mind and countenance compos'd,
And with as bright an air of majesty,
As Phœbus shews when he serenes the sky,
Made this resolve upon the agency:

'Be

'Be it so then, and WE OURSELF decree,
'CONNECTICUT shall be a COLONY;
'Enfranchis'd with such ample liberties
'As thou, their friend, shalt best for them devise:
'And farther know our royal pleasure thus,
'And so it is determined by us;
'Chief in the patent, WINTHROP, thou shalt stand,
'And valiant Mason place at thy next hand.
'And for chief senators and patentees,
'Take men of wealth and known abilities;
'Men of estates, and men of influence,
'Friends to their country and to us their prince.
'And may the people of that happy place,
'Whom thou hast so endeared to my grace,
'Till times last exit, through succeeding ages,
'Be blest with happy English privileges.
'And that they may be so, bear thou from hence
'To them these premonitions from their prince.
'First, let all officers in civil trust
'Always espouse their country's interest.
'Let law and right be precious in their eyes,
'And hear the poor man's cause whene'er he cries.
'Preserve religion pure; and understand,
'That is the firmest pillar of a land:
'Let it be kept in credit in the court,
'And never fail for want of due support.
'And let the sacred order of the gown,
'With zeal, apply to th' business that's their own;
'So peace may spring from the earth, and righteousness
'Look down from Heaven, truth and judgment bless.
'Then, let the freemen of your corporation
'Always beware of the insinuation
'Of those which always brood complaint and fear;
'Such plagues are dangerous to infect the air:
'Such men are over-laden with compassion,
'Having men's freedom in such admiration;
'That every act of order or restraint
'They'll represent as matter of complaint.
'And this is no new doctrine, 'tis a rule
'Was taught in Satan's first erected school.
'It serv'd his turn with wonderful success,
'And ever since has been his master-piece.

'Tis true, the sleight by which that field he won,
Was argued from man's benefit alone.
But these outdo him in that way of evil,
And will sometimes for God's sake play the devil.
And lastly, let your new English multitude
Remember well a bond of gratitude
Will lie on them, and their posterity,
To keep in mind their freedom came by thee.

The following Remarks, in Addition to the Extract from Capt. Magee's Log-Book, came too late to be inserted in the proper Place. *See Page* 261.

"THE islands, which lay to the northward of the channel through which we passed, were small and irregular, appearing to be mostly solid rocks, of a whitish colour, with very little wood on them, and great numbers of sea-fowl hovering over them. Two of those to the southward were well wooded, and covered with beautiful verdure. Each of them appeared to be about twenty miles in circumference, having a gradual ascent from the shore to the summit.

The nearest lands to these islands, according to the latest charts, are the *Sulphur* islands, discovered by Capt. King, in his return from Kamschatka, in 1780. Their latitude is 24° 40′ N., and their longitude 141° 12′ E. It is probable, however, that the northernmost of the *Marian* islands, which lie nearly in the same longitude with the *Margaret's*, may not be much further distant than the *Sulphur* islands."

JAMES MAGEE.

Boston, Dec. 14, 1795

In addition to the account *of the burials in the town of Boston*, in the third number of this work, a friend to the publication would inform the editors, that from the 19th April to 18th October, 1775, there were ninety-two buried in the place of interment *at the north end.* These were inhabitants; those of the army or navy are not included; nor any negroes.

Private manuscript of a gentleman then in the town.

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